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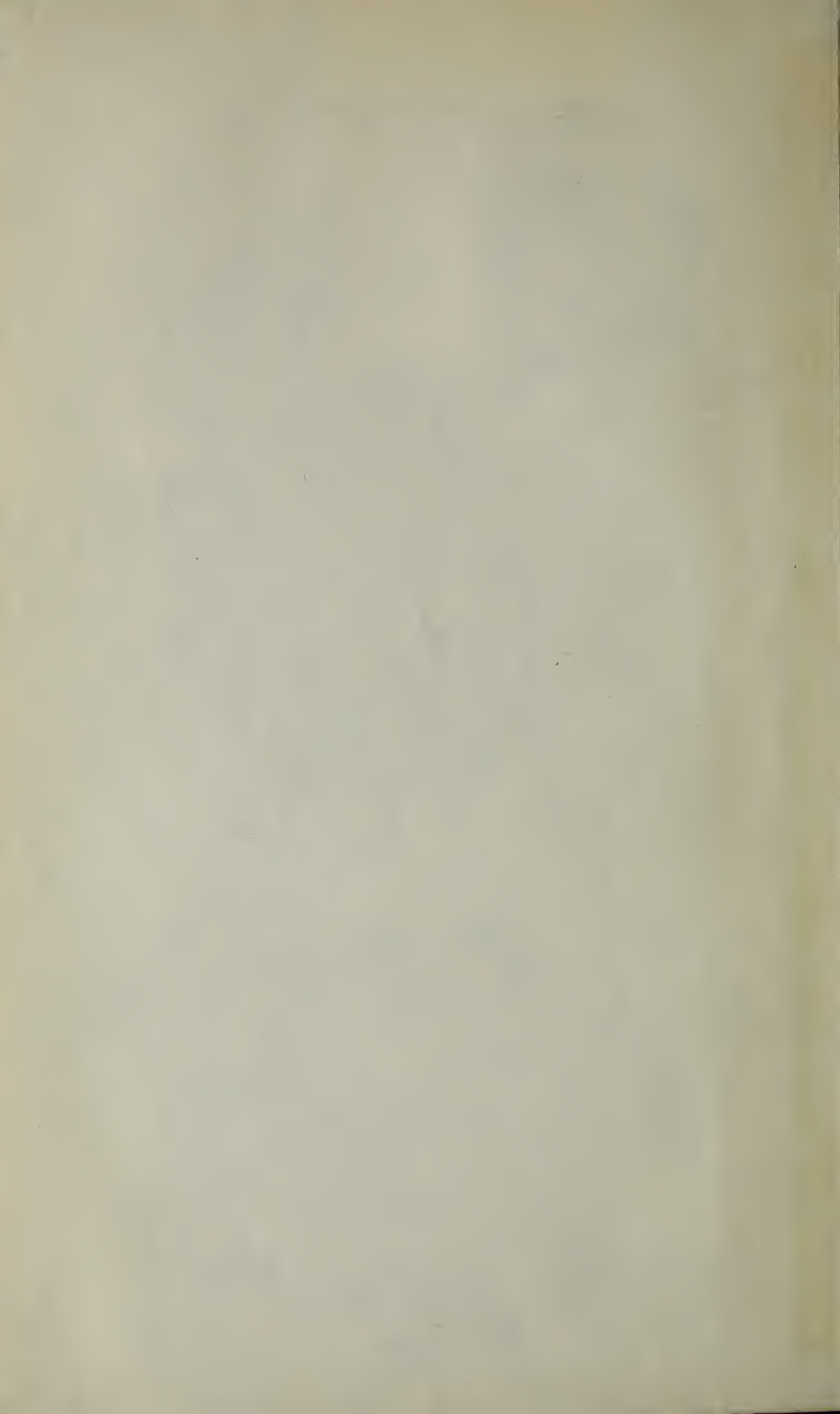
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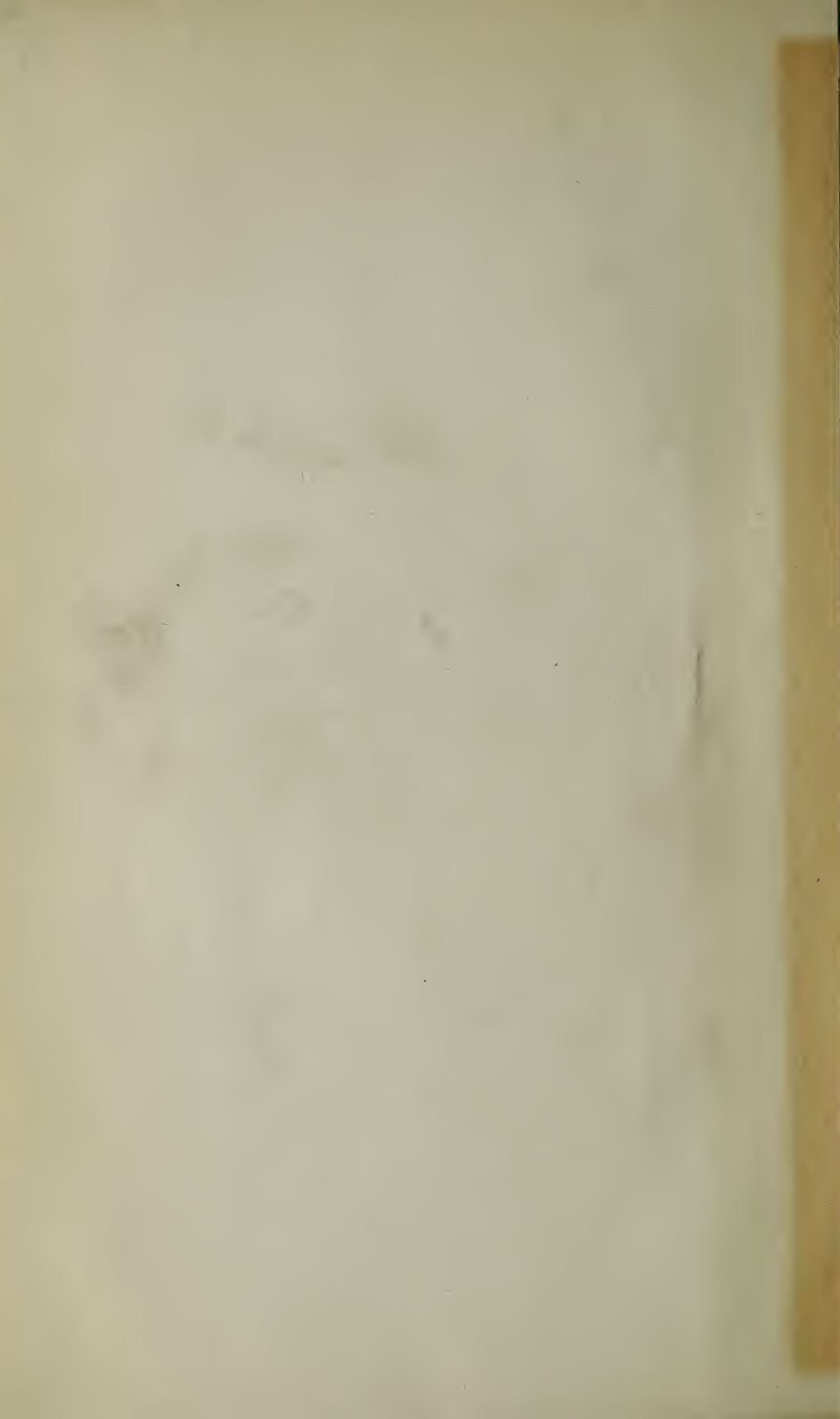
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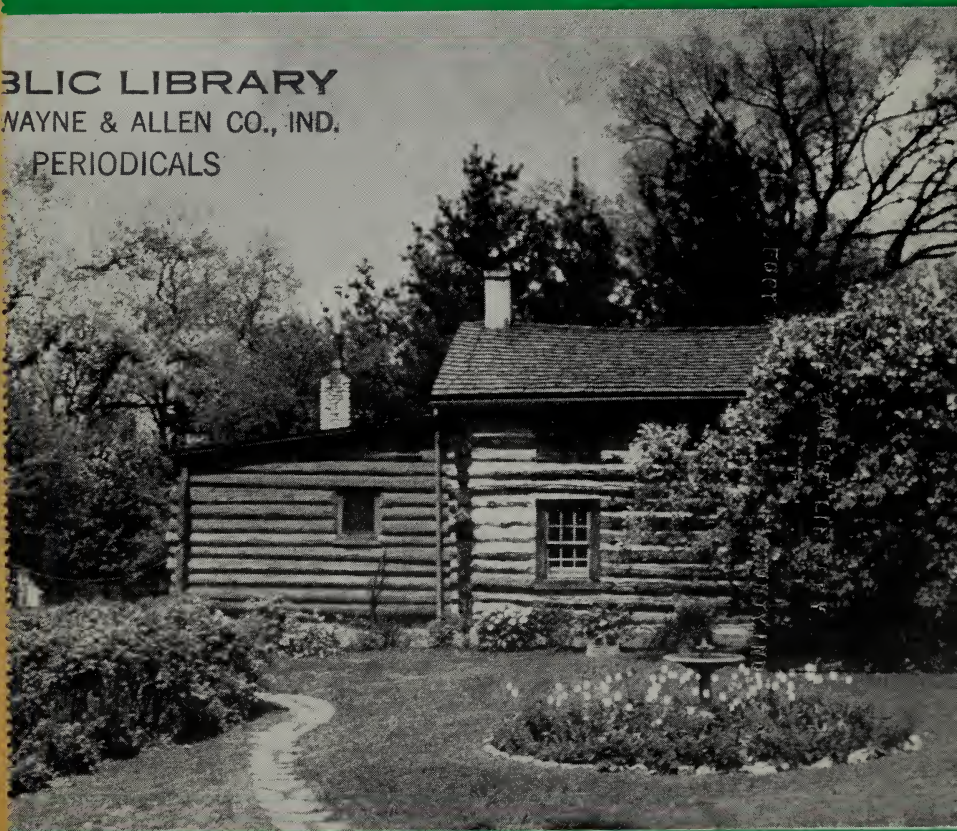
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THE MARY LINCOLN LETTERS TO MRS. FELICIAN SLATAPER

BY JUSTIN G. TURNER

AN interesting series of eleven unpublished letters written by Mary Todd Lincoln was offered to the public at auction in March, 1955 and I was the successful bidder. These letters were written to Mrs. Felician (Eliza Jane Lee) Slataper, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, bearing dates from September 21, 1868 to October 4, 1871, and one without a year date, "Monday, July 13" which may be 1874. The first five were addressed from various places in the United States when Mrs. Lincoln was contemplating her first trip to Europe with her youngest son Thomas (Tad); four were written in Europe, and the last two after she returned to America and Tad died following a protracted illness. Eight of the eleven letters were written on mourning stationery. In addition to those from Mrs. Lincoln the collection contained a letter written to Mrs. Slataper on October 7, 1868 by her son Daniel from Chester, Pennsylvania, where he was attending the Pennsylvania Military Academy.

Justin G. Turner is past president of the Manuscripts Society and a member of its publication committee. He was formerly an attorney in Chicago and is now an executive officer of Town Investments, Hollywood, California. Some of his numerous and valuable items of Lincolniana were acquired at the auction of the late Oliver R. Barrett's collection in 1952 and were on display at the Illinois State Historical Library two years ago.

Mary Lincoln suffered from a number of mental and physical illnesses before, during and after her stay in the White House. In 1850 the Lincolns had buried one son, Eddie, in Springfield; Willie had died during their stay in the White House. Seven members of Mrs. Lincoln's immediate family were Confederate sympathizers; she had brothers serving in the Confederate Army—one as commandant of Libby Prison at Richmond. Her husband's enemies seized every opportunity to condemn and castigate her. The South accused her of being a traitor, and the North of being a Confederate spy. Her position as mistress of the White House made her a political target for the blasts of the opposition press.

Mrs. Lincoln's temperament and jealous disposition were natural obstacles which did not tend to cultivate feminine companionship. Thus when the sudden death of her husband left her bewildered and helpless she had few intimate friends in whom she could confide or to whom she could look for comfort and consolation. Now that she no longer had power to be politically useful, many "friends" found no further attraction in associating with her. Her dependence upon her mulatto seamstress, Mrs. Elizabeth Keckley, is an indication of her loneliness.

Dr. Anson G. Henry, an old friend and one of her few trustworthy confidants, lost his life by drowning in July, 1865. Her eldest son Robert was not yet twenty-two, and apparently the relationship between them was not too cordial. Tad was only twelve in 1865 and suffered from a speech defect; his mother was solicitous in attending to his education. She was not on the best of terms with the members of the Todd family and may have been too proud to turn to them for comfort.

The resistance which she met in Congress when applying for a pension, the unfortunate incident pertaining to the selling of her personal effects and clothing, her distressing relations with Lincoln's former law partner William H. Herndon,

and the constant sniping of unfriendly politicians and press plagued and harassed her and tended further to weaken her ailing mind and body. The Ann Rutledge legend, promulgated by Herndon's lectures and writings, not only infuriated her but affected her mentally. Thus when the Slataper correspondence began Mary Lincoln, a short time before the First Lady of the Land, was without sympathetic understanding from intimate friends or relatives.

In his preface to *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln* (1932) Dr. W. A. Evans stated that there were many Lincoln collectors and a large Lincoln literature, but no Mrs. Lincoln collectors and no Mrs. Lincoln literature. He continued: "It is true that much has been written about the wife of the first president to be assassinated but it is not assembled. The material must be sought for in many places." Later that same year appeared Carl Sandburg and Paul M. Angle's *Mary Lincoln, Wife and Widow*, half of it consisting of original letters and documents. The interest in Mary Lincoln has grown and now a number of collectors and institutions are intensely concerned with obtaining letters by or relating to her.¹ This is evidenced by the spirited bidding on the Mary Lincoln letters at the sale of the Oliver R. Barrett collection of Lincolniana. The Slataper letters were also sought by a number of collectors and institutions including the Illinois State Historical Library and the Henry E. Huntington Library. Irving Stone's *Love Is Eternal* and Ruth Painter Randall's *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* have further stimulated this interest in Mrs. Lincoln.

There is no need to attempt to magnify Mr. Lincoln's nobility of character by minimizing that of Mrs. Lincoln and exaggerating or falsifying her weaknesses. Collectors, by making available hitherto unknown letters, and researchers in the

¹ Among unpublished letters of Mrs. Lincoln recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library are: one to Mrs. S. T. Atwater, written at Racine, Wis., July 13, 1867; one to Miss Delia Dubois, from Pau, France, Apr. 28, 1877; five to Oliver Spencer ("Pet") Halsted, Jr., dated Nov. 22, 1864, May 29 and Nov. 11, 1865, Jan. 17 and 21, 1866; one to the Rev. J. B. Gould from Avignon, France, Apr. 22, 1880; and one to Mrs. Albert Edwards from New York City, Oct. 23, 1881.



MARY LINCOLN'S FRIEND ELIZA JANE SLATAPER

This photograph of Mrs. Felician Slataper was made from a portrait painted in Italy in 1874 by an unknown artist. The original is owned by Mrs. Slataper's granddaughter, Mrs. Blase Cole of Newton, New Jersey.

field of Lincolniana have been instrumental in causing a reappraisal not only of Mrs. Lincoln's relations with the President, but also of her general character. Personal letters are primary sources to which scholars choose to refer when they are available, since one's habits, predilections, philosophy and many facets of character can best be discerned in such correspondence.

.

Who was Mrs. Slataper? When and where did she first meet Mrs. Lincoln? One would undoubtedly remember so unusual a name. However, in the voluminous Lincoln literature there seems to be no reference to her; prominent Lincoln scholars whom I consulted could furnish no information; and apparently there are no other Mary Lincoln-Slataper letters in the possession of Lincoln collectors or in institutional libraries.

A memorandum accompanying the letters stated that Mrs. Slataper was born Eliza Lee, one of the Lees of Virginia. Mrs. Keckley's volume *Behind the Scenes* contains several references to a Mrs. Lee, an intimate friend of Mrs. Lincoln. "After Mr. Lincoln's death," she states, "the goats that he loved so well were given away—I believe to Mrs. Lee, *née* Miss Blair, one of the few ladies with whom Mrs. Lincoln was on intimate terms in Washington." Conjecturing that Eliza Jane might be a family connection of this Mrs. Lee, I checked various Lee genealogies. Time after time I ran into a dead end as I continued through the labyrinth of Lees. Research at the Library of Congress, the University of Virginia and the Virginia State Library proved fruitless.

A search of Pittsburgh directories revealed that Felician Slataper was listed in 1867 as a consulting engineer. From the New York office of the American Society of Civil Engineers I ascertained that Mr. Slataper was born in 1828 in Trieste (then under Austrian rule). He attended the Austrian Naval Academy at Venice and the Polytechnic College at Vienna. The family must have been fairly well to do for

him to be able to enjoy seven years of advanced schooling.

Slataper sailed from Trieste for San Francisco in 1850. While employed on the rebuilding of the roads across the Isthmus of Panama he was stricken with fever, and after a short convalescence sailed for New York in 1851.

Arriving in Pittsburgh in 1852, he was employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company as assistant architectural draftsman. In 1859 he was elected a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers. He occupied positions with various railroads and for a short time prior to the Civil War held a position in the government service in Washington. In 1871 he was appointed chief engineer for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and in 1889 consulting engineer. He returned to Trieste in 1892 on leave of absence and resigned his position in 1895.

Felician Slataper and Eliza Jane Lee, daughter of Dr. Daniel Lee, were married on August 19, 1853. They had four children, the oldest being Daniel Lee, a friend of Tad Lincoln.

In Mrs. Lincoln's letters to Mrs. Slataper there are references to a "Mrs. Gross." A plat of the block in which the Slatapers lived in Pittsburgh discloses that Dr. and Mrs. Augustus H. Gross lived next door to them. Mrs. Gross was the adopted daughter of a member of the prominent and wealthy Winebiddle family. The Grosses had adopted a daughter, who was also an acquaintance of Tad.

It would seem that Mrs. Slataper and Mrs. Lincoln became acquainted in the Alleghenies in the summer of 1868. In her letter from Leamington, England, November 7, 1870, Mrs. Lincoln mentions how greatly she prized Mrs. Slataper's society there, but never refers to their association at any other place. Had she known Mrs. Slataper before she left the White House, it would have been unnecessary for her to explain in detail her friendship with Mrs. Orne, as she does in her letter of August 21, 1869.

We know definitely that Mrs. Lincoln spent a good portion of the summer of 1868 in Pennsylvania prior to leaving for Europe in the fall. The *Cambria Freeman*, published weekly at Ehrensburg, seven miles west of Cresson, noted:

[July 23, 1868] Mrs. Lincoln and her son, Tad, are just now rustivating at Cresson.

[July 30, 1868] Tad Lincoln, in imitation of boys who never had a President for their father, attempted to jump on a passing freight train at Cresson, on Monday week, but his hold slipped and had it not been for the timely aid of a gentleman who stood near, he would have fell under the wheels and most probably have been killed.

[August 13, 1868] Mrs. Lincoln has turned up at Bedford Springs. She was to have visited Europe in company with our minister to England, Hon. Reverdy Johnson,² but as he was gone without her the presumption is that "he couldn't see it!"

Cresson is located in the Allegheny Mountains about halfway between Altoona on the east slope and Johnstown on the west slope. It is in Cambria County, 2,000 feet above sea level and eighty-five miles east of Pittsburgh. Altoona, sixteen miles farther east in Blair County, is 1,100 feet above sea level. Bedford Springs was and is still noted for its mineral waters and is still in operation about thirty miles south-east of Cresson.

The mountain range caused a break in the canal water transportation system between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and a connecting link called the "Allegheny Portage Railroad" was built about 1830 over this section. As this crude railroad could not be operated at night, several hotels were built along its thirty-mile length. After the railroad was abandoned about 1856 these hotels functioned as summer retreats for the people of many large cities. The Mansion House, still standing and known today as the Summit Hotel, was located at the junction

² Reverdy Johnson (1796-1876) had represented Dred Scott in the famous case before the United States Supreme Court and had been instrumental in preventing Maryland, his home state, from seceding in 1861. He and Lincoln corresponded during the war, particularly in relation to the *Trent* affair. Johnson had just left the Senate before the expiration of his term to accept the appointment as minister to Great Britain, which post he held until Grant became president in 1869.

of this railroad and the old Turnpike. Among the many travelers who stopped there were Charles Dickens, Major Robert Anderson, General William T. Sherman, Bill Nye and the Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth. The Logan House in Altoona, built by the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1844, was for more than half a century one of the foremost hotels in the country. Due to its salubrious climate an emergency meeting of the loyal War Governors was held there in 1862. Among its prominent guests through the years were Presidents Grant, Hayes and Benjamin Harrison.

Many springs noted for their mineral content were located at Cresson, which boasted of possessing "the highest pure water spring in the world." In the early 1850's Dr. R. M. S. Jackson built his famous Sanatorium. The Cresson Springs Health Resort was opened shortly thereafter, and later replaced by the famous Mountain House Hotel. It was primarily patronized by Pittsburghers, including Andrew Carnegie who had a summer home in Cresson. Mrs. Lincoln divided her time between Cresson and Altoona and may have commuted back and forth. The Cresson Springs Health Institute had many privately owned cottages, a number of which were owned or leased by residents of Pittsburgh; Mrs. Lincoln may have occupied such a cottage owned or leased by one of her friends. The *Cambria Freeman* of June 18, 1868, stated that "The Cresson Springs was opened for the season yesterday. . . . All the trains stop at Cresson Station and excursion tickets during the season are granted to visitors. The buildings have capacity for 500 guests and have been crowded to overflowing every season."

Mrs. Lincoln had a penchant for mineral baths. In New York she patronized hotels with such facilities, and during her tour of Europe she visited such well-known spas as Baden Baden, Germany, Bath, England, and the French Riviera. It is not surprising, therefore, that she spent the summer of 1868 in the vicinity of Cresson.

Mrs. Lincoln is known to have corresponded after her husband's death with Mrs. Albert S. White, Mrs. James H. Orne and Mrs. Gideon Welles, with whom she had been on friendly terms in Washington. Mrs. White, who also vacationed in the Alleghenies in the summer of 1868, was the wife of a congressman from Lafayette, Indiana, whom Lincoln had appointed a judge of the United States District Court. Mrs. Orne came from a prominent Philadelphia family; her brother, Charles O'Neil, was a member of the House of Representatives. Mrs. Welles was the wife of Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, and during the war had often accompanied Mrs. Lincoln on visits to soldiers' hospitals. Mrs. Lincoln had appealed to these correspondents for help in connection with her pension application, and she may have been too proud to write to them in the same vein of despair that she used in writing to Mrs. Slataper, her newly found acquaintance and confidante.

The friendship between Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Slataper may have originated as a result of the association between Tad Lincoln and Daniel Slataper, who were about the same age. "Danie" wrote his mother in the autumn:

P.M.A. CHESTER OCT 7TH. 1868.

DEAR MOTHER.

I have received your letter of the 5th. and I was very glad to hear from you and glad you did not [go] over to Europe with Mrs Lincoln and Tad I did think you would because you and Mrs Lincoln are such friends.

I am very sorry to hear that you have a very bad cold I think it is the change of the Climate. The reason I did not write to you is because I was not surtain if you was at home yet. I am getting along in all of my studes very well I do not study Geography know, but my German and Arithmetic I am getting a long very well Mama I am studing as good as I can in all my my studies, and to get a good repord in all of my studies. Tell Tillie I will write to her as soon as I can.

Please tell Papa send me my ball in my box and mat, and Grapes and pears also. Please tell me what Tad Lincoln direction are I do not know

FROM YOUR AFFECTIONATE SON

TO MY MOTHER.

DANIE SLATAPER

The records of Pennsylvania Military Academy (still in existence at Chester under the name Pennsylvania Military College) and its correspondence with the parents of its pupils were destroyed by fire in 1883. A catalogue for 1867-1868, however, indicates that Daniel, like Tad, was not too proficient a student. He received 48 for Deportment, 75 for Scholarship and 49 for Military Exercises. His weighted average of 61.6 placed him third in a group of five students who were prepared to enter the Second Class of the English course, equivalent to the first year of high school. No correspondence between him and Tad is known to exist.

The two boys and the daughters of Mrs. Slataper and Mrs. Gross had probably become acquainted and played together during their summer at Cresson. In her letter of September 21, 1868, Mrs. Lincoln refers to Tad's being "much attached to the young ladies, who were so kind to him." Though Tad's education was retarded, his mind was not; his backwardness in his earlier years was the result of lack of formal training.

Mary Lincoln was twelve years older than Mrs. Slataper, who was born August 19, 1830. From the tone of her letters she might have been writing to a younger sister instead of to a new friend. In none of them does Mary refer to her own family or to any incidents or occurrences in her past life.

The former owner of these letters, Edward Stern, had appraised the Abraham Lincoln Association in 1947 that he had the letters but would not furnish photostats for the Association's files until he had published them. After Stern's death they could not be located, and collector Nathaniel Stein suggested to Mrs. Stern that he be permitted to go through her library. After a diligent search he found the letters between the pages of a leather-bound set of the *Lives of the Presidents*.

The provenance of the letters died with Mr. Stern. Mrs. Stern, who made the typescripts, repeatedly asked him what he had paid for them and from whom he had acquired them,

but to no avail. Mutual friends with whom he discussed the contents of this correspondence advised me that they could never prevail upon him to permit them to view the originals.

It is gratifying to me to be able to carry out Mr. Stern's wishes and make the contents of these letters known.³ Irving Stone made use of them with my permission in "The Trip that Abraham Lincoln Promised Mary" (*Good Housekeeping*, February, 1956), but they appear here for the first time in their entirety:

ALTOONA PENN

Sept 21st '68

MY DEAR MRS SLATAPER:⁴

We arrived here in safety, through the rain.⁵ I found a letter from the Baltimore steamer—mentioning that they sailed on the 1st. of Oct—& would take Taddie & myself to Bremen for \$135.00—in gold—very cheap indeed. Another letter addressed to Mr McClellan⁶ from N. Y.—stating that the *Hermann* sailed Oct 1st. & would take lady & Son for \$130—gold—if the lad was under 12 years of age—(They did not know what party was applying & perhaps if they did, would not make a deduction). I want you to write me so soon as you

³ In addition to those previously mentioned as having furnished information on the Slatapers, I wish to acknowledge the help received from T. C. Ketenheim of Cresson, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and the late Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Illinois State Historian and editor of this *Journal*, especially for the annotations.

⁴ Here and in other places Mrs. Lincoln misspelled Mrs. Slataper's name, distinctly writing "Slataper." This spelling was also used in the sale catalog of these letters.

⁵ Extant records show that Mrs. Lincoln and Tad were in Chicago through July 16, 1868, on which date Mrs. Lincoln made purchases at J. M. Harvey's store in that city. On July 21 she paid \$20 board for Tad at the Mountain House, Cresson Springs, and at the Logan House, Altoona, for Aug. 1-8, Aug. 15-Sept. 15 and Sept. 20-22 at the rate of \$12 per week. Mrs. Annie Cramer was paid \$10 for one week's board (presumably August 8-15) for Tad at Bedford. On their return from Bedford to Altoona Mrs. Lincoln and Tad were accompanied by Ex-Governor and Mrs. Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania. They had originally planned to sail from Baltimore on Aug. 1 and remain in Scotland until Oct. 1, then go to Germany. Mrs. Lincoln to Mrs. Albert S. White, Cresson, July 18, Altoona, Aug. 19, 1868.

⁶ Mrs. Lincoln may have used the name of "Mr McClellan" in making inquiry about travel accommodations. It was not an uncommon practice for her to use an assumed name, and she says that "They did not know what party was applying."

receive this letter—giving your views. Taddie appears a little obstinate & *inclined* to be *argumentative* on the subject if I sail from Baltimore, it is such a round about way—to visit “*Browns mills*”!⁷ and again the continual desire of the boy, to be running backwards & forwards to Washington, will be *annoying*, to say the least. I leave here to-morrow evening (Tuesday for Baltimore, please direct your letter to Barnum’s Hotel. Robert writes me that the marriage takes place on *Thursday*, evening, I am much pleased with the delay.⁸ On Friday *afternoon* from Barnum’s, I will write you again—giving many particulars—the letter will reach you *this day* week—just as I hope, dear Mrs Gross & yourself will be starting to meet me—

Say to Mrs Gross, that I can never be sufficiently grateful to her, for her great kindness to my little boy. He became very much attached to the young ladies, who were so kind to him. He expresses himself, as having enjoyed himself, beyond bounds, with one exception & that was a little *contretemps*, which often happens to youths of his age, & thoughtlessness—

⁷ Browns Mills is in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, near Kauffman (post office Chambersburg).

⁸ The *Washington Express* of Sept. 25 (quoted in the *Chicago Times* of Sept. 30) describes the wedding:

“The fashionable belles and beaux have been all in a flutter for some weeks past in anticipation of the marriage of Capt. Robert T. Lincoln, son of the late president, with Miss Mary Harlan, daughter of Senator [James] Harlan [of Iowa]. . . . The nuptials took place last evening, at 8 o’clock, at the residence of the bride’s father, No. 306 H Street, near Seventeenth. . . .

“At 7½ o’clock the spacious parlors of the mansion contained about thirty persons, among whom were Senator and Mrs. Harlan; Mrs. Lincoln and little Tad; Secretary McCulloch and lady; Secretary Welles and lady; Mr. Stanton, son of the ex-secretary of war; Rev. J. Peyson Brown and family, and many others.

“Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal church, was there, attired in his clerical robes, and, with his natural affable manner, was the means of making the select company quite social. . . .

“The bride was attired in a beautiful white satin dress, with hair adorned with a white rose, a flowing bridal veil adding much to the natural simplicity and good taste of the *tout ensemble*.

“Capt. Lincoln was a very properly attired in a suit of black broadcloth, with a *solitaire* adorning his necktie, and white gloves completing the toilet. The happy young gentleman looked the very impersonification of joy; and, together with his amiable and pretty bride, received the congratulations of his relatives and friends with becoming modesty. . . .

“Mrs. Lincoln was attired in a plain black dress, and appeared evidently delighted at the marriage of her son with so estimable a young lady. . . .”

not to say to larger persons sometimes. When he parted with me, I slipped some loose change in his hand, & by some manner of means, he dropped it. He says it mortified him to be without change—but I think it will teach him to be more careful, *next* time. Yet, as you may be sure, my Mother's heart, was tenderly touched, at his expression of mortification when he found he was away from me, having dropped his money. He was fortunate, in being situated just as he was, in such a dilemma. He sheds tears, whenever I allude to it. How much I miss you this morning! Mrs Murdock⁹ is well & as bright as ever, enquired very particularly after you both. I regretted in the confusion not to be able to say adieu, to Mr Slataper. When will we all meet again? Prepare yourselves to meet me early next week. The fan I send by Express to day. Address to Baltimore—let me have a letter by Friday morning

With much love, I remain Always truly yours

M L.

BARNUM'S HOTEL [BALTIMORE]

Sept. 25th '68"

MY DEAR MRS SLATAPER:

I have just sent you a telegram—praying that you may immediately come down here. I have just returned from Washington. Tad—remained there—and I feel that I shall be lonely beyond expression, without you—*come to me*. The marriage—passed off finely—not more than 30—persons present—very elegant presents given. *Mr Scammon's* wife¹⁰ was taken sick at Columbus O—did not arrive—but instead—two *very thin* gold bracelets—half an inch in width & very *thin*, arrived! All this is entirely *entre-nous*—*breathe it not!* The

⁹ The wife of Dr. Murdock of Pittsburgh and a friend of Mrs. Slataper and Mrs. Gross.

¹⁰ Mrs. Charles T. Scammon, wife of Robert Lincoln's law partner in Chicago. Robert had studied law in the office of Charles's father J. Young Scammon and had been admitted to the bar on Feb. 25, 1867. The partnership of Lincoln & Scammon had offices at No. 1, Marine Bank Building, until its dissolution in 1871.

presents from every other person were very rich—if they had had a large wedding they would have had an immense assortment. I am tired & will write you no more—praying in the love of mercy—you will come to me, without delay—it is best, I should sail from here. We took an especial trial [train] from W. this morning with the bridal party & some friends, who accompanied them to N.Y. *I landed here*¹¹—they insisted upon my accompanying them to N.Y. but I thought it was best to remain here until you *come—do come both*¹², if you love me.

ALWAYS YOURS

M L

leave P[ittsburg]. Sunday morning at 11-A.M. You will arrive here in 13 hours—if you value my peace—*come*

M L.

BARNUMS HOTEL
SEPT 27TH [1868]
SUNDAY.

MY DEAR MRS SLATAPER:

You have not yet arrived—& I have been so anxiously awaiting you!

Did I tell you, that on my arrival at Baltimore, I found two telegrams, urging me to proceed immediately to Senator Harlan's, in Washington. On our arrival at the depot there—I found Robert Mary & Senator Harlan in their carriages. Quite a number of friends called to see me & as I did not look around me in W. the feeling of *being there*, did not oppress

¹¹ "At noon to-day the happy couple left for New York in a special car, attached to the 12:30 train, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln and her son Tad, Edgar T. Welles, Esq., and Edwin Stanton, Jr. Wormley had an excellent wedding lunch prepared in the car, and Mr. J. H. Wormley, Jr., accompanied the party to New York, as caterer. . . . Mrs. Lincoln being on the eve of her departure for Europe it was decided to have a quiet marriage and issue no cards. Mr. Lincoln will settle in Chicago, where he has a lucrative practice." *Washington Star*, Sept. 25, 1868, quoted in *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], Oct. 3, 1868.

¹² Mrs. Slataper and Mrs. Gross.

me as much, as I supposed it would.¹³ Yet I felt the after effects, on my mind, when I returned to Baltimore. On Friday, after writing you a letter and sending you a telegram I went to dinner & after seating myself at a table near the door, I found my head becoming dizzy & every thing appeared black before me. I endured the feeling as long as I well could, and whilst attempting to rise, found myself sinking to the floor—a very distingué looking gentleman—gave me his arm—and led me to my room door, which fortunately was on the 2d floor—was not *this a contretemps*? There was no help for it, but you may be sure—my meals are now served in my own room. Come—come to me—the hour you receive this—Do not mention the word dress—you are quite well enough & I may never see you again. I hope I shall see you, before you receive this.

With much love to *Mrs Gross & all*—I remain

ALWAYS YOURS

MARY LINCOLN

BARNUM'S HOTEL

TUESDAY SEP 29TH—[1868]

MY DEAR MRS SLATAPER:

Can I begin to express my disappointment, at not seeing your dear face, before I leave this blessed land? Instead of yourself, your telegram came this morning. I am feeling very anxious, about your health and will continue to feel so, during my voyage. How anxiously I have been expecting you within the last week, *you will never know*. The hours are drawing near, for us to leave. Mrs Harlan has just telegraphed me, that she will come to Baltimore bringing Taddie. Poor child he doubtless feels like a victim. He will soon be happy in the change. I will write you, when I arrive in Bremen.

¹³ This was Mrs. Lincoln's first visit to Washington since she left the White House for Chicago in May, 1865.

On Thursday morning, I will write you a line, where to direct a letter in Bremen—and so soon as you receive the direction—write to me directed to Bremen—so that I may hear from you, so soon as I arrive there. I will be feeling, very anxious about you,—we sail on Thursday. No more happy hours, with you, for a long time, perhaps never again in this world. The change from this gloomy earth, to be forever reunited to my idolized husband & my darling Willie, would be happiness indeed! I write very hastily. Oh that I could see you, before I leave. With love to all—I remain, forever yours

MARY LINCOLN.

Address your next letter to me—to the care of Brothers
"Kulenkampff" Bremen—

HOTEL D'ANGLETERRE
FRANKFORT A'MAIN
DEC 13TH. '68'

MY DEAR MRS. SLATAPER:

In this distant land, how can I sufficiently express the great pleasure, your kind letter, has afforded me! It is such a pleasure to be thus remembered, when we are separated from those we truly love!

I came to Frankfort, expecting to remain a week, and now Christmas, is almost upon us. When I was reading "*John Ross Bean's*" description of a winter & very especially a "Christmas" in Frankfort, I then scarcely expected to be here, to witness & pass through similar scenes. It was in the famous Alleghanies, last summer, that his account was read. Certainly I expect in no place on the habitable globe, do they make greater preparations for these holy days, than in F. There appears more to tempt one here than elsewhere—the shops are very beautiful and the [visit?]ing Americans [are] said to have increased the prices.¹⁴ We are considered in Europe

¹⁴ The original letter is torn and the missing words and letters have been supplied in brackets.

(& very justly) a most prodigal people—and this place has become a great resort for more quiet Americans. We have quite a little colony, at our hotel—which is considered the aristocratic one, in F. All the nobility stop here, counts, dukes & dutchesses abound in the house, and on my table, their cards are frequently laid. Yet in consideration of poor health & deep mourning, I have of course accepted no dinner invitations & have kept very quiet. Popp, the most charming of *all* dress makers, who receives many orders from America, and makes for the royal family of Prussia & all the nobility, has just made me up some heavy mourning silks, richly trimmed with crape. The *heaviest* blk English Crape here, is only in our money \$1.50cts per yard. think of it! when in *war* times—I once gave, *ten* dollars per yard, for the *heaviest*! He (Popp has made dresses for Queen Victoria's daughters so long, that a few years since, when [she passed] through [F. an]d stopped at this house—she sent for him & of course he obeyed the summons. He is a very modest man & never speaks of it himself. How different *some* of our boastful Americans, would be! I like Frankfort exceedingly, the true secret is, I suppose I am enjoying *peace*, which in my deepest, heart rending sorrow, I was not allowed, in my native land! I find it quite as expensive here as in America & as I am urged by my physicians to proceed to Italy very soon—at least I expect to start about the 22d of January & remain until 1st April. *That* fearful, sorrowful month, will be spent very quietly here on my return. I wish those dear eyes of yours, could become clairvoyant & visit sunny Italy—its churches, paintings & all objects of interest with me. What happiness it would be if you, were only with me! I am beginning to realise, why it is, that Europe spoils so many men & especially women. There is [a]n *ind*[*ependen*]ce here [and a *reverence*] which we do not dream of in America. My rooms are on the same floor with Consul Murphy & wife, Mrs Mason of N.Y. & Mrs

General Robert Allen & daughter of U.S. Army.¹⁵ Mrs M. is the wife of the Organ Mason, a very superior woman, we are much together—yet the attraction is so different—from what I feel towards you. Her children have been so long going to school here, & she has been in Germany, so much herself, that she has imbibed many of their philosophical ideas, which are often startling to me. She requires that softness of character, without which no woman, can be lovely. Notwithstanding I like her. I can perceive that she has been demoralised, as we called our Army men often. On yesterday, two American gentlemen friends, called to see me, they asked me, if I was homesick. I told them I pined for a glass of American ice water—the latter here is impossible & really dangerous to drink. Wine, of course is universally used & yet I have never seen a person the least intoxicated. [A fe]w days since, I visited a building 1,000 one thousand years old, to see the portraits of about fifty German Emperors, some of them older than the building. The chairs on which these men sat, the stone floors, on which they trod, every thing, of course possesses a charm for me—as I advance in my travels, the interest will certainly increase. I am sending you, my dear friend, a tedious account of my movements, write me, I pray you & tell me what dear Mrs Gross & yourself are doing. The weather is so mild here, at present, that my fire has died out, so different, from *your weather* I suspect. I often here from Robert & Mary—the latter writes me often calling me “Dear Mother—” and says she is so happy. Wonders whether I am not almost ready to return to them. Dear child, it may be a weary day, ere I recross the broad Atlantic, not that my thoughts, will not be daily, hourly with you all so dea[rly be]loved. I am convinced, the longer I live, that life & its’ blessings are not so entirely unjustly distributed, are [sic] when we are suffering greatly, we are inclined to suppose. My

¹⁵ Murphy was the American consul at Frankfurt; Mrs. Henry Mason, wife of the co-founder of the Mason and Hamlin Organ Company; and Brigadier General Robert Allen, formerly of Springfield.

home for so many years, was so rich in love & happiness; now I am so lonely & isolated—whilst others live on in a careless lukewarm state—not appearing to fill Longfellow's measure. "Into each life, some rain must fall."¹⁶ I have read his "Tragedies,[""] there is no doubt, but what he is a spiritualist—Himself & daughter are now in Paris. I hope we will all meet "somewhere." Taddie, has some little Christmas remembrances for your daughter & Mrs Gross—which, I hope ere long, he will have an opportunity to send. He likes his school¹⁷ & is a most affectionate, amiable tempered child—he is *recovering* from his homesickness. Do write me so soon as you receive this—so that I may hear from you, before I leave for Italy. With much love to all your family, Mrs Gross & husband I remain with much affection.

[ALW]AYS YOURS—M[ARY] LINCOLN

Will you be able to decipher this scraw[1]? M. L.

NICE, FRANCE. FEB 17TH. '69.

MY DEAR MRS SLATAPER:

I have been anxiously hoping to receive an answer to my last, for a long time. As I have written to Frankfort for letters, I trust in a day or two, I may be favored. After the first of January, cold weather set in and I became so greatly indisposed about six weeks since, that my physicians insisted upon my going South, so here I am and have been, for the last two or three weeks. I left it so cold, in Germany, on arriving here, I find the weather as sunny & balmy as June with us. Flowers growing in the gardens, oranges on the trees, my windows

¹⁶ The quotation is from the third stanza of Longfellow's "The Rainy Day." His *New England Tragedies*, dealing with the witchcraft mania at Salem, Mass., in 1692, was published in 1868.

¹⁷ Tad attended Professor D. Hohagen's school in Frankfurt for six quarters, from Oct. 26, 1868 to Apr. 26, 1870, paying as tuition per quarter 150 florins (\$87.75 to \$96 according to fluctuations in exchange). His guardianship papers in the Illinois State Historical Library show revealing purchases and payments. Besides German and French, he took English lessons from a private tutor. In 1869 he traveled to Mannheim and Heidelberg during the Easter recess, to Paris during the April-July quarter, and made a four-day excursion through the Palatinate during the next quarter.

open all day, looking out upon the calm, blue Mediterranean. The contrast is inconceivable. I live out in the open air & am gradually finding myself, grow stronger day by day, for I had been very sick in Frankfort. Another winter, will find me here, I think *much* earlier in the season. For more reasons than my health, am I congratulating myself that I am in the South of Europe, quite removed from *hostile American* newspapers. For as you are aware I have made a formal application to Congress, for a pension, which is my due—and for this *brave* act, *at this time*, I suppose according to custom, I am being most unmercifully assailed.¹⁸ The only papers, I have seen, since I have been here—have been the N.Y. Times, Tribune & Herald, and they all, with *one* accord, urge my rights. I am *not* in the least hopeful, that *justice*, will me [sic] done me & I am anticipating a refusal. Doubtless they are *tomahaw[k]ing* me *now*, to slay me afterwards! Nous verrons, yet I greatly fear my misgivings will prove correct. How dearly I would love to see you once again & talk over so many many things. If my health improves, my sight-seeing has only commenced. En route to Nice, I stopped for a day or two at Baden to see a lady from America, who resides most of the time in Europe. We visited a castle near Baden, where the veritable “White Lady, [”] is said, delights most to dwell, and where Napoleon signed his memorable treaty, in roaming over the immense building, I said to our two attendants “have you ever seen her”—to which of course, they both replied—“We often do.” As you know the Germans are very superstitious, and from the King of Prussia, down to his humblest subject, believe in *her* frequent appearance. Speaking of royalty, reminds me that my dress swept past the Prussian Princess, on yesterday, in a Turkish store. She had alighted from her carriage and was selecting some gorgeous table-covers—our eyes met & we looked earnestly at each other, yet until she left the store, I did not know, *who* she was. Of

¹⁸ A pension of \$3,000 per annum was granted to Mrs. Lincoln on July 19, 1870, over strenuous opposition.

course she will always remain in ignorance, regarding *me*. Such is life! There are so many with Nobility attached to their names in this country, who live in apartments, and do not assume, *near as much* as *our nouveaux riches*! I had so much to harrass & excite me at home, in America, that I think it is the best thing, I could have done to "place the waters, between myself & unkindness," at present. Yet the distance *only* draws me nearer to *the few*, I loved so—truly. In consequence, should I ever regain my health & my strength of mind partially even returns to me, the restoration to those so dear to me, will be, *all the sweeter*. Oh if you were only with me here! Was there ever such a climate, such a sunshine, such air?—You cannot turn for flowers, beautiful bouquets, thrust into your very face. I never return from my walks without my hands being filled—and yet to me, they bring sad, deeply painful memories. I often wonder, how I could have touched them. Time brings to me, no healing on its wing and I shall be only too glad, when my mission, which I know, to be my precious child Taddie, is completed, to be rejoined to my dearly loved ones, who have only "gone before." Such a dream as I had of my idolized Willie, last night. Some day, I will tell you *all*. I took the liberty of sending—your daughter & Mrs Gross', lately a simple set of amber each. I trust ere this, they have received them. I have also crosses of the same, for them—and it was yesterday, when I was selecting you both, *two fans*, that pleased me well & which I will send, when I return to Frankfort—that the Crown Princess & *myself* met face to face—

Will you be able to read such a scrawl?

Present my kindest regards to Mrs Gross & the rest of your families. Also *please, do—do*—write soon, directed to me at Frankfort—on the Maine, "Care of Phillip Nicol Schmidt bankers."

EVER YOURS MOST AFFECTIONATELY

MARY LINCOLN

FRANKFURT: A.M.

AUG. 21ST 69—

MY DEAR MRS SLATAPER:

On my return from Scotland, three days since, I found your most acceptable letter quietly awaiting me written *now*, so many weeks since. Taddie & myself had been absent from this place seven weeks & have been so far *north* in Europe, as to see daylight closing in upon us at *eleven o'clock*—P.M. and morning light, at 3. A.M. Our old & dear friend, Dr Smith,¹⁹ 73—years of age & very feeble, anticipating that he will not live much longer & desirous of seeing us before his departure, insisted so much upon our visit to him this summer, that we concluded to do so. We went to London via Paris, remaining at the latter place only 5 days, but sight seeing *every* moment of our time. In London—the kind good old man, came down by steamer & met us—there we also remained 5. days. Beautiful, glorious Scotland, has spoilt me for every other Country! It appears to me, that we saw every place, yet I presume we might remain five months there, continually travelling round, without doing so. We visited—Abbotsford, Dryburgh abbey—passed six days in charming Edinburgh—seeing *oh so much!* Glasgow, journey on the Clyde—all through the west of dear old Scotia, Burn's birth place, saw *the nook in the wall*—where he first saw *light*, went to Greenoch—heaved a sigh, over poor "Highland Mary's" grave—went out into the ocean—entered Fingal's cave Visited Glencoe—*Castles innumerable*—Balmoral—Drummond the latter *perfectly fairy land* visited GLAMIS castle—saw the room & the bed on which poor king Duncan

¹⁹ The Rev. Dr. James Smith (1801-1871), pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield 1849-1856 (Mrs. Lincoln overestimated his age by five years). Dr. Smith preached Eddie Lincoln's funeral sermon on Feb. 2, 1850, and received Mrs. Lincoln into the membership of the church Apr. 13, 1852. President Lincoln appointed his son Hugh Smith consul at Dundee, Scotland in 1861. Because of poor health Hugh had to turn the management of the office over to his father, and Lincoln's nomination of the Rev. James Smith for the consulate was confirmed by the Senate Feb. 18, 1863. *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Assn. ed., 1953), VI: 51-52, 58; references to Dr. Smith in the diary of Mrs. William M. Black in this *Journal* (Spring, 1955), 59-64.

was murdered. Stepped *on the same* step—that Mary Queen of Scots, jumped into the canoe—from her prison home at *Lochleven*. I cannot begin to enumerate, all the places of interest we visited. I *am convinced*, that I shall never again be able to arouse myself to take *such another* interest in any other country, I may chance to visit. I hastened back as Taddie, had been delayed, ten days after the commencement of his school. We returned via—Ostend—Brussels went out to the battle field of Waterloo. I returned here—with rather a heavy heart, my usual accompaniment, of the last few years. But have had a very agreeable surprise in finding a very particular friend with her family—from Philadelphia a most charming lady, she had searched for me every where written me letters enquiring my wherabouts when I was in Sc—went out to Homburg,²⁰ and strange to say—but it will not surprise either *you* or *I*—the day after my return—stopping myself, at an hotel here, where I never dreamed I should be she came here also—bag & baggage—as she said in quest of me. She is now here—and we sat up in my room last night & until 3. this morning—talking over former *happy* days. We were very intimate in Washington. They remain in E. three years & I suppose we will be much together. Her name is Mrs James Orne of Phil—they are immensely wealthy & she is as unaffected & overflowing with love for her friends, as if she were penniless. She is accompanied by two very sweet young daughters—her maid & valet. I forgot to mention a brother. She is very much shocked—that I should have no waiting woman & says a *better time*—is coming for me. Poor Me! Heaven grant it. Her brother, Charles O'Neil, is a member of Congress, from Phil. They are a very delightful family—and has written to me continually, since the fearful loss—of my darling husband. If you remember, her writing me when we were at Bedford, to come on to Phil & make her

²⁰ Homburg, famous for its hats, is in the state of Hesse-Nassau, a short distance from Frankfurt.

a visit—before sailing for E. I wish you knew, this sweet woman. She said it was an irresistible impulse, for her two or three [days?] ago, to leave Homburg—for F. & on entering the hotel, remarked to her daughters—"I have a presentiment, that Mrs Lincoln, is in this house" and before she had taken off her bonnet—she was in my room & we sat up *that* whole night together too. A *gentleman* next door, knocked several times, during the night saying "ladies, I should like to sleep some." We amused ourselves very much, over his discomforture, last night—another sufferer—rang the bell—for the waiter & *quiet* at 2 1/2 o'clock THIS A.M.

Please burn this & oblige me, by telling no one save Mrs Gross of my recent journey to S. Will explain *hereafter*—

[MARY LINCOLN]

LEAMINGTON ENGLAND

NOV. 7TH. 1870.

MY DEAR MRS SLATAPER:

It has been more than *a year*, since I have received one of your very agreeable & most welcome letters. With my own heart, so filled with love for you, I cannot understand your painful silence. Can it be that I am forgotten [*sic*], whilst memory of you, dear dear friend, is so fresh & unimpaired?

We have left Germany, some months since & we have been here, *most of the time*, for the last two months. We are three hours & half, by rail from London, where I have been, very frequently. *This* place, is the garden spot of England, Kenilworth Castle three miles distant, Warwick Castle—*still* nearer—and Stratford on Avon—nine miles distant.²¹ Only pleasant drives all of them—& spots, where I have lingered,

²¹ After leaving Dr. Hohagen's school Tad spent two months at a school in Oberursel, Germany. With the approach of the Franco-Prussian War they left Germany for England. Leamington in Warwickshire, 98 miles northwest of London, is still a favorite health resort noted for its baths.

with so much pleasure. Would that you had been with me! As much as I prized your charming society, in the Alleghanies—which appears to me, so “*long, long ago*” your presence, would be doubly dear to me, *now*. Taddie, became quite a proficient in the German language, & is now studying very diligently, under an English tutor—7 hours—each day. I have been reading, a letter book—which made me think much of you. It is called, “Gates ajar,” by Mrs Phillipps²² do get it & read it—it is by an American lady, & has created quite a sensation in Europe, this Autumn. I have wandered—over the greater portion of Europe—and have become, weary of sight seeing. Oh that I could see you *this* night, to converse with you, about *ever so many things*. Only care for me, as I have for you & I will be satisfied.

Do write me *immediately*.

Whilst life lasts—& *afterwards*—I shall always love you. Please present my regards to dear Mrs. Gross—your own family & Please write me on receipt of this, directed to me, Care of Phillipp N. Schmidt Banker, Frankfurt a Maine Germany. I remain, your loving friend

MARY LINCOLN.

[CHICAGO] THURSDAY JULY 27TH. [1871?]

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND

In my great great agony of mind, I write you.²³ I pray you, by all that is merciful to come to this place—if but for a few days—I feel that I *must* see you. Can you not come next Monday—*each* day we could be together. My son’s health required that he should [lea]ve town, for two weeks, I

²² *The Gates Ajar*, by Mrs. H. D. Ward (1844-1911), who wrote under the name Elizabeth Phelps (not Phillipps), was published by Fields & Co. of Boston in 1869.

²³ The envelope accompanying the letter is postmarked “Chicago July 27” and addressed: “Mrs. Felician Slataper/ Pittsburg/ Penn./ care of—/ F. Slataper Esq/ Civil Engineer.” Tad had died of pleurisy on July 15, 1871 at Chicago. Robert had aided in caring for him during his last illness; Tad’s Chicago funeral was held at Robert’s house, and Robert accompanied the body to Springfield where Tad was buried in the Lincoln Tomb.

promised him that I would remain in his house. A gentleman friend occupies his only spare room *at night* yet each day I am entirely alone, in my *fearful sorrow*. *Come, come to me* My daughter in law is absent with her sick Mother—

LOVINGLY YOUR BROKEN HEARTED FRIEND

M L

It is very cool in C.

653. WABASH AV [CHICAGO]

OCT. 4TH. 1871.

MY DEAR MRS. SLATAPER:

I have been so utterly prostrated—by my deep deep grief, that my health has completely given away. Latterly, I am suffering greatly, with violent palpitation of the heart—which has become the cause of much [un]easiness to my friends. Consequently, I am ordered perfect quiet—as much as can be obtained by a person so broken-hearted as my poor self. As anxious as I am to see you, I feel that *it is best*, at present that we do not meet. Bleeding wounds, would only be opened afresh, in God's Own Time—I MAY grow calmer, yet I very much doubt it. As grievous as other bereavements have been, not one great sorrow, ever approached the agony of *this*. My idolized & devoted son, torn from me, when he had bloomed into such a noble, promising youth. I will write you soon again, in the *meantime*—DO write.

YOUR DEEPLY AFFLICTED FRIEND

M L.

MONDAY MORNING JULY 13TH [1874?]²⁴

MY DEAR MRS SLATAPER:

I wrote you a note a week since directed to Cresson S[prings]. urging you, from the depths of an agonized

²⁴ The only year between the beginning of Mrs. Lincoln's acquaintance with Mrs.

bereaved heart to come to me if only for a day or two.

I have been prostrated by illness—& by *a grief*—that the grave alone can soften. Could you not pass the *15th*.—with me. With a world of love—believe me your deeply attached friend

M. L.

I have just received a letter from my son, who left here by order of his physician, being so ill & worn out. He will not return before *next* Saturday. *Come*, come to me.

Slataper (1868) and her death (1882) in which July 13 fell on Monday was 1874. However, the *New York Herald* of July 6 of that year says that "Mrs. Abraham Lincoln landed at Cherbourg from New York June 22, and went to Paris." Very little information is available as to Mrs. Lincoln's whereabouts in 1874; her house on West Washington Street in Chicago was sold that summer, but this might have been done through an agent. When Mrs. Lincoln wrote this letter she was evidently in the United States, or she could not have hoped that Mrs. Slataper would reach her within two days from the date of her letter. July 15 was the anniversary of Tad's death.

METHODISTS AND "BUTTERNUTS" IN THE OLD NORTHWEST

BY RALPH E. MORROW

THE Methodist Episcopal Church, the most numerous Protestant body in the states of the Northwest and unexcelled in its wealth, claimed a paramount role in the struggle between the North and the South. "While the churches were generally . . . loyal, Methodism was intensely so and . . . contributed more than any other to the . . . Union cause," wrote an Indiana Methodist. Another declared that "Methodism . . . has been the agency of the nation's deliverance." Other denominations conceded that the Methodists represented "a respectable praying force . . . voting force and shooting force."¹

¹ *Northwestern Christian Advocate* [Chicago], Nov. 22, 1861, Apr. 1, 1863; Fernandez C. Holliday, *Indiana Methodism: Being an Account of the Introduction, Progress and Present State of Methodism in the State . . . Down to 1872* (Cincinnati, 1872), 153; *Western Christian Advocate* [Cincinnati], Nov. 23, 1864. Standard presentations of the sectional cross currents in the Old Northwest and their origins are Clyde H. Hubbart, *The Older Middle West, 1840-1880* (New York, 1936); and Albert L. Kohlmeier, *The Old Northwest as the Keystone of the Arch of the Federal Union* (Bloomington, Ind., 1938). A semi-anthology of Northern clerical attitudes toward the Civil War is Chester F. Dunham, *The Attitude of the Northern Clergy toward the South* (Toledo, Ohio, 1942). For an over-all view of Methodist participation see William W. Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1912).

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The mobilization of public opinion through pulpit and press was an important part of the Methodist contribution. Abraham Lincoln reportedly said, "Her bishops . . . and pastors have a wonderful formative influence on the masses of the people," and this power was used to whip to renewed exertions a section which sometimes faltered in its purpose. The slogan "Methodism is loyalty" took an ostentatious place in the church's discipline. "A man cannot be loyal to the Methodist Episcopal Church and at the same time be . . . [in] the slightest degree . . . disloyal to the government." By a meaningful analogy a parson expressed the archetype of Methodist patriotism: "Paul, in death, was not more loyal to his Lord than I . . . am to the cause of the Union."²

Most Methodists discountenanced "faint-hearted endorsement as well as avowed opposition." They were entreated "to send up prayers unceasingly" in order "to strengthen the arm of the government and paralyze that of the enemy." There could be no middle ground; those who "did not . . . speak boldly out" gave "evidence of being on the side of the rebellion." "To be neutral, or so concealed in using words and acts as to give no public assurance of loyalty is to be in opposition to the Government," asserted a prominent Methodist. A southern Illinois assembly resolved to "regard the man who is unwilling to take a position positively in favor of his country . . . as . . . unworthy of a place . . . in the Methodist Church." The first specification against a preacher suspected of disloyalty was "a failure to identify himself with any of the movements looking to a support of the government."³

² Sylvester Weeks, ed., *A Life's Retrospect. Autobiography of Granville Moody* (New York and Cincinnati, 1890), 447; *Central Christian Advocate* [St. Louis], Oct. 1, 1863, Oct. 26, 1864; *Minutes of the Southern Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1863* (St. Louis, 1863), 37; John Lanahan to Matthew Simpson, June 27, 1864 (Matthew Simpson Papers, Library of Congress).

³ *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 30, 1863; *Minutes of the Indiana Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1863* (Cincinnati, 1863), 18-19; *Indiana True Republican* [Centerville], July 30, 1863; *Central Christian Advocate*, Aug. 13, Oct. 8, 1863; *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], Oct. 11, 1863.

Editor Charles Elliot, whose *Central Christian Advocate* of St. Louis was the official Methodist weekly for central and southern Illinois, thought Methodists were "bound to recognize on moral . . . and scriptural principles" prosecution of the war "to the entire subjugation of the rebellion," the Emancipation Proclamation, "the . . . policy . . . of arming the Negroes," "confiscation of the property of rebels," and "the conscription law." In this program he had a host of Methodist companions. The Illinois Conference of 1863 commended as "scriptural" the "proclamation . . . declaring the slaves free . . . the enforcement of the conscript act, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* . . . and the policy of arming the Negroes." Some concluded that the Methodist clergy had "come to believe in the infallibility of the . . . administration" and remodeled "the church into a society for the dissemination of Republican ideas."⁴

Methodist clergymen often candidly discussed the mechanics of politics. Through pulpit and press they declared that "all but sympathizers . . . vote the Republican ticket" and "the aims . . . of the Democracy . . . are . . . antagonistic to those of the Bible." Irascible worshipers were known to complain because "every issue of . . . [a] church paper contain[ed] pleas for votes to sustain a political party which ought to be removed" and "they [were] called upon to listen to . . . Republican . . . prayers and preachings." Methodist editorials used "sympathizers," "traitors" and "Democrats" as synonymous. An Illinois preacher attributed the blame for the delay in the Union march of conquest to the malicious intrigue "of a large party at the North calling itself the Democracy [which] was taken into Southern pay." War had sifted the North into "patriots and Democrats," and a clerical journalist wrote in 1864, "If even there were one Methodist

⁴ *Central Christian Advocate*, Aug. 13, 1863; *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 11, 1863; *Salem (Ill.) Advocate*, Dec. 24, 1863; *Lancaster (Ohio) Eagle*, Dec. 31, 1863; *Stark County Democrat* [Canton, Ohio], Apr. 27, 1864.

. . . who would vote for peace [and] Pendleton . . . we hope never to know him.”⁵

A ministerial audience greeted a “radical . . . fanatical speech” by Governor Richard Yates of Illinois with “loud cheering . . . clapping of hands, stamping of feet . . . pious exclamations . . . and the most boisterous demonstrations of applause.” Bishop Matthew Simpson ignited emotional explosions which any orator would have envied when a throng of itinerant preachers in Cincinnati “waved . . . handkerchiefs and hats . . . screamed and shouted, and saluted and stamped, and clapped and wept and laughed in wild excitement.” Sermons “full of blood, fury [and] politics” were greeted by a response which partook “more of a . . . carousal than even an ordinary political meeting.” “Eyes suffused with tears of gratitude,” full-throated shouts, or ear-splitting renditions of the Doxology in commemoration of Union military victories, favorable election results and major items of legislation were regarded by some ecclesiastics as timely fruits of Methodist orthodoxy.⁶

Clergymen also moved out of the pulpit to teach lessons in civic morality. Reporters frequently noted that “one or two ministerial brethren . . . spoke at the great rally on election eve.” At Union demonstrations in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois “the ‘Reverends’ [were] so numerous that the . . . meetings might be mistaken for Methodist conferences.” Editor John M. Reid of the Methodist organ at Cincinnati cautioned parsons attracted to the hustings to eschew “epithets . . . slang phrases . . . passion . . . and personalities” and deal only “in high, noble purifying principles.” However, Granville Moody of Ohio, one of the best-known pastors to “render

⁵ *Central Christian Advocate*, Nov. 26, 1863, Nov. 2, 1864; *Highland Weekly News* [Hillsborough, Ohio], July 28, 1864; *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Jan. 13, Sept. 2, 1864; *Western Christian Advocate*, Sept. 9, 1863; James B. Shaw, *Twelve Years in America: Being Observations on the Country, the People, Institutions and Religion* (London and Chicago, 1867), 112.

⁶ *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 11, 1863; *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Jan. 13, Oct. 12, 1863, Oct. 5, 1864; *The Crisis* [Columbus, Ohio], June 22, 1864; *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, Nov. 28, 1863; *Central Christian Advocate*, Mar. 15, 1865.

... efficient service in ... congressional and presidential campaigns" was declared to be unexcelled in the art of "skinning copperheads, crushing butternuts, and flaying peace-men." Preachers turned stump speakers, said their opponents, quickly became "adept at Billingsgate equal to the ... brawniest fish woman" and compensated for the dearth of electioneering experience by robust vigor. A newspaperman called the clergy a more "effective ally of the [Republican] party ... than even the ... partisanship of the press."⁷

Criticisms that Methodists had "combined religion with politics so cunningly as to make it difficult to say which ... was the ... object of its mission" were parried with more abruptness than finesse. Though a few fashionable pastors fancied themselves "above ... mere partisanship [and] in the higher region of true patriotism," many others made "no disclaimer in reference to meddling with politics." "To preach the gospel and not 'meddle with politics' is an absurdity," roared one preacher who attributed to "the Devil" the "false doctrine ... that politics are independent of the church." Southern Illinois Methodists officially called it a "mistake" that "politics ... must be surrendered ... to the keeping of political hucksters." An Ohio manifesto read, "As we ... approximate more nearly to the character of ... Jesus Christ, we shall become 'more rabid in politics.'" Sporadic admonitions that "the policies of the administration ... are simply political questions ... with which ministers ... have nothing to do" were impatiently brushed off with the curt comment "The ring is copper."⁸

As a corollary, Methodism also winnowed the human chaff from its midst. "While those at the front kill rattle-

⁷ *New Albany (Ind.) Weekly Ledger*, Oct. 7, 1863, quoting *Cairo (Ill.) News*; *Western Christian Advocate*, Mar. 2, Nov. 9, 1864; *Christian Advocate & Journal* [New York], Nov. 10, 1864; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Apr. 26, 1863; *Salem Advocate*, Dec. 24, 1863; *Chicago Times*, Jan. 6, 1864.

⁸ *Lancaster Eagle*, Jan. 14, 1864; *Central Christian Advocate*, Sept. 10, Oct. 1, 1863, Aug. 17, 1864; *Zion's Herald* [Boston], Feb. 17, Oct. 12, 1864; *Nashville (Ill.) Journal*, Aug. 4, 1864; *Minutes of the Southern Illinois Conference*, 1861, p. 32.

snakes, we at home must kill copperheads," cried a discharged chaplain. Thomas Eddy, from his Chicago editorial seat, recommended "the social outlawry of every man and woman . . . whose position is doubtful." Many resolutions of local and regional gatherings declared that "members . . . who are . . . constantly speaking evil of the Chief Magistrate . . . ought to be expelled from . . . the church." An Indianapolis preacher interrupted the communion service "to cut off every butter-nut in the congregation" while a colleague in Lafayette prefaced his Sunday expulsion ceremony by remarking, "I don't want a copperhead in my congregation." Even more expeditiously an Illinois presiding elder ousted "so-called Confederate sympathizers" from the churches of his district by "writing such words as 'copperheads' " beside their names on the membership rolls.⁹

The crusade to make Methodist affiliation "*prima facie* evidence of loyalty" encountered occasional "unreasonable and wicked opposition" from "craven graybacks." Political contention spawned "bitter feeling to an alarming extent . . . among members of . . . the church," and a vociferous minority declared against "the use of the Methodist church to throw off . . . foul-mouthed slang." Country editors noted at times that "the larger portion of the Democratic audience arose and left the house" when preachers "raked open the hot embers for the whole genus of copperhead sinners."¹⁰

Irate communicants occasionally resorted to more obnoxious tactics. "Bedaubing the seats with eggs" temporarily

⁹ *Central Christian Advocate*, Oct. 15, 1863; *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Aug. 17, 1864; *Nashville Journal*, Feb. 5, 1864; *Vevay* (Ind.) *Reveille*, Nov. 10, 1864; *New Albany Weekly Ledger*, Oct. 7, 1863, quoting *Indianapolis Journal*; *Terre Haute Daily Express*, Oct. 18, 1863; *Minutes of the Central Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1864 (Chicago, 1864), 28. Churchmen admitted "many" expulsions and withdrawals from Methodism and those victimized said "thousands." See *Central, Western and Northwestern Christian Advocates*, *passim* during the war years.

¹⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 11, 1863; *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Aug. 17, 1864; *Central Christian Advocate*, Mar. 25, 1865; *West Union* (Ohio) *Democratic Union*, Feb. 19, 1864; *Freeport* (Ill.) *Weekly Journal*, May 11, 1864; *Fulton County Ledger* [Canton, Ill.], May 31, 1864.

closed a Crawford County (Ohio) church, but this pales by comparison with the phial of skunk's essence which "butter-nut rowdies" deposited in the heating system of an Illinois edifice. During eighty days in 1863-1864 "church windows . . . [were] smashed to pieces" and there occurred the "severe whipping [of a] pious 'loyalist,'" "a vehement whack . . . followed by a really tremendous barrage," and a "sudden and unceremonious attack . . . on a . . . slimy copperhead."¹¹

Clerical personnel were meticulously screened. After "close questionings and trying investigations" Methodist preachers throughout the Northwest could say, "The taint of disloyalty is not to be found upon us." This unity "in love and devotion to the government" was only reached through accusations and punishments; some clergymen searched out aberrations in the behavior of their fellows. A preacher in southeastern Indiana bragged that he was "doing more for the church . . . than in any other period of [his] life" because he had added to his pastoral routine "exposing and . . . running off butternut ministers." "Strong inferences of disloyalty" were sometimes drawn from little besides a "leer of the eye . . . sadness of the face . . . sorrow of the eyebrows [and] hitching and harping." Because he carelessly selected "for his daily associates those known to be in sympathy with rebellion" an Illinois resident placed his ministerial status in jeopardy; an elder was convicted for deriving pleasure from the *Chicago Times* and the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, "sheets only fit to be . . . read by . . . traitors." The charge that Methodists "treated . . . the pure spirit of Christianity as a traitorous sentiment" gained substance from ecclesiastical censures on ministers audacious enough to tell parishioners that "the South fully believes she is right as much as we do" and that "there is as much deep mourning over the South as there is here in the North," or who "expected to vote for Vallandigham,"

¹¹ *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Feb. 25, 1863; *Fremont (Ohio) Journal*, May 15, 1863; *Ohio State Journal* [Columbus], Dec. 21, 1863; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Dec. 31, 1863, Jan. 14, 1864; *Menard County Axis* [Petersburg, Ill.], Feb. 6, 1864.

"made speeches at democratic meetings in company with . . . copperheads," ran "for office on the copperhead ticket" or denounced "the means employed to preserve the Union."¹²

Peter Cartwright, shielded by a certain immunity derived from his long service to the church, publicly rebuked the Illinois Conference for "political proscription" during its stormy sessions of 1863. Many people became convinced that "adhesion to the party in power . . . not piety . . . constitute[d] the title to church fellowship." One preacher wondered whether "as a matter of compensation" the officialdom had been "paid a substantial patronage [by] . . . the Central Republican Committee." Opponents of Lincoln reiterated that "Methodists . . . do not want Democrats in their church" and "believe that no Democrat can go to heaven." One bucolic sister, "once a Methodist," added: "I isn't now, I is a dimmycrat." A crusty old veteran of religious feuding contemplated requesting "one half of the time each Sunday in behalf of the Democratic party." A Vallandigham supporter advised "Democrats, where they are in a majority," to "seize control and rid the church . . . of its false priests." Other Protestant denominations, with an eye out for their own interests, beckoned discontented Methodists. An Episcopal rector suggested his communion as one "where men of different political sentiments . . . may worship in peace."¹³

¹² *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Oct. 21, 1863; *Minutes of the Northern Indiana Conference*, 1863, p. 28; *Aurora (Ind.) Commercial*, Nov. 19, 1863; *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 11, 13, 14, 1863; *Central Christian Advocate*, Sept. 24, Nov. 26, 1863; *Salem Advocate*, Jan. 7, 1864; *Minutes of the Southeastern Indiana Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1864 (Cincinnati, 1864), 11-12; Jacob Ditzler, *Philosophy of the History of the Church from the Times of Christ till the Present* (St. Louis, 1866), 295; *Minutes of the Indiana Conference*, 1861, p. 10.

¹³ The writer has discovered fourteen instances of impeachment for disloyalty in the three states bordering on the Ohio River, about half of which resulted in acquittals. To these must be added others catalogued under "immorality" or "un-Christian and unministerial conduct," a number of unrecorded cases and some who retired to escape justice or out of sheer disgust. *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 14, 1863; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 27, 1864; *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Sept. 2, 1864; *Central Christian Advocate*, Jan. 22, 1863; *Fulton County Ledger*, May 31, 1863; *Salem Advocate*, Feb. 4, 1864; *Dayton (Ohio) Daily Empire*, Mar. 16, 1863. The Republican directorate in 1860 had hired the Rev. Hiram Dunn of New York to mobilize the Western Methodist vote for Lincoln. Dunn traversed the Northwest in advance of the fall elections to obtain from clerical gatherings "unequivocal endorse-

There was also a movement to "form Democratic churches [with] Democratic ministers." Dissenters, ruffled that established denominations took "more liberties with the Bible than Abe with the Constitution," cried, "Let us be by ourselves." Mounting dissatisfaction with the uninhibited zeal displayed by the Ohio clergy in the 1863 state campaign precipitated schemes for churches where "Democrats . . . could hear the Gospel . . . without being denounced." The malcontents convened in Columbus in early February, 1864. The original Methodist group had received the adhesion of other schismatics and renegades from five Protestant denominations plus "one or two from the world"; seventeen counties were represented. The convention speedily drafted a covenant of faith ("the Bible"), settled the form of ecclesiastical government (intensely Congregational) and christened the creation "The Christian Union."¹⁴

Most of the state's Democratic press wished the new movement well. A few politicians "linked most closely with the intensest copperheadism" also aided it. Edson B. Olds—merchant, state legislator and quondam congressman who had been imprisoned in Fort Lafayette—"unwilling to pay . . . to the support of a church . . . to be insulted . . . because of his political principles," imparted direction to the discontent and benevolently dictated procedure. The veteran journalist politician and former governor of Kansas Territory, Samuel

ment of the great principles of the Republican party." The national chairman characterized Dunn's work as "very useful." See William E. Chandler Papers (Lib. of Cong.), VI: 1158-60, VII: 1626-27, IX: 1374-75.

¹⁴ *The Crisis*, Dec. 30, 1863, Jan. 27, Feb. 3, 24, 1864; *Dayton Daily Empire*, Feb. 2, 1864; *Menard County Axis*, Jan. 21, 1865, quoting *Stark County Democrat*; *Western Christian Advocate*, Oct. 21, 1863, Jan. 27, 1864; *Aurora Commercial*, Nov. 19, 1863; *Lancaster Eagle*, Dec. 10, 1863; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Feb. 19, 1864. "The utter rout of Vallandigham" in the election of 1863, wrote a preacher to the *Western Christian Advocate*, "was a . . . greater Union triumph than the fall of Vicksburg." Yes, commented the *Advocate*, "God has averted a threatened calamity. Let his name be praised." Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists and United Brethren joined the Methodists in this convention. Political antipathies sprouted angry contention in many denominations; Methodist defections were probably the largest and certainly the most publicized. The counties represented at Columbus were too dispersed to warrant any conclusions about the concentration of religious unrest; nor do they have any political implications, since only five of the eighteen counties with Vallandigham majorities sent delegates.

Medary, blessed Olds' project and opened *The Crisis* to "the New Gospel . . . according to St. Vallandigham." "Democrats have too long endured the insults of the bigoted clergy," snapped Medary. "The Democratic Party cannot but foster feelings of sympathy for a movement which . . . inspire[s] men with truth and order." Philadelph Van Trump, George E. Pugh and other Ohio Democrats—including one Virgil E. Shaw of Lancaster, of whom little else is known—lent the prestige of their voices. James F. Given, "a man whose talents . . . might have led him to high positions in the church save for his strange political associations," had resigned his Methodist pulpit in time to escape expulsion. He now became editor of the *Christian Witness* at Columbus, the authorized voice of Christian Unionism. Upon Olds' retirement Given was informally enthroned as "the high priest of the copperhead church" in Ohio.¹⁵

In contrast, separatism in Illinois was immediately traceable to ministerial inspiration, although the appeal to "Democrats . . . who . . . desire the means of grace unmixed with political fanaticism" shows a fundamental identity of cause and effect. The end of 1863 witnessed an acceleration of apostasy and the desultory establishment of nondescript churches. The formation of the Illinois Christian Association, a loose federation of religious bodies, was the work of a dozen preachers and about the same number of laymen who caucused in Lacon, Marshall County, a week after the organization of the Christian Union of Ohio. Four months later another band of heterodox Methodists, chiefly of Marion County, began a drive for recruits as the Evangelical Church. Here, as in divers areas of Illinois and Indiana, Southern Meth-

¹⁵ *The Crisis*. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, *Lancaster Eagle* and *Lancaster (Ohio) Gazette*, *passim*; *Ohio State Journal*, Mar. 2, 1864; *Canton (Ill.) Register*, Feb. 8, 1864; *Western Christian Advocate*, Jan. 27, 1864; *Zion's Herald*, July 6, 1864; *Minutes of the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1864 (Cincinnati, 1864), 26. The nineteen most prominent laymen whose names appear on petitions in support of the ecclesiastical reorganization can all fairly be called "Peace Democrats." No file of the *Christian Witness* is known to be extant, and its content can only be ascertained by quotations appearing in the contemporary press.

odist preachers, exiled from Missouri by martial edict or fleeing that commonwealth to escape durance vile, fanned the homegrown unrest and tirelessly belabored "political churches." One of them, Jacob Ditzler, won a mantle of leadership among the restive Methodists of southern Illinois.¹⁶

Despite their similar congregational polities and doctrine, the Northern and Southern schisms continued in separate channels into the postwar period. The Christian Union Church of Illinois was the product of a consolidation finally effected in September, 1865. Disciplinary resolutions adopted by Christian Union conclaves belied avowals that the sect proceeded "without any reference to politics, politicians [or] worldly strifes." The Evangelical Church of Southern Illinois "not . . . being . . . a political organization" constitutionally forbade "the discussion of political issues . . . in any of the courts of the church." Its Ohio cousin warned that "ministers or members . . . guilty of . . . political preaching or political discussion in . . . religious meetings [would] be dealt with for immoral conduct." They did "not oppose the introduction of politics . . . but only the wrong kind of politics." Christian Union assemblies reportedly resembled "small democratic meetings . . . destitute of the usual amount of enthusiasm," though a Democratic newspaperman chortled in glee that at last the country had a church which believed in "the Union as it was . . . and the Negro where he is." The separatists themselves claimed to detest "such conduct . . . as . . . preaching politics," yet in the same breath cried that "we

¹⁶ "Minutes of the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1866-1881" (MS, Emory University Library, Emory University, Ga.); *Salem Advocate*, Nov. 19, 1863, quoting *Carthage* (Ill.) *Republican*; *Nashville Journal*, Nov. 20, 1863; *Central Christian Advocate*, Mar. 17, 1864; *Western Christian Advocate*, Apr. 18, 1866; William J. Leftwich, *Martyrdom in Missouri: a History of Religious Proscription . . . in the State of Missouri* (2 vols., St. Louis, 1870), I: 168, 355; William H. Lewis, *The History of Methodism in Missouri for a Decade of Years from 1860 to 1870* (Nashville, Tenn., 1890), 64-67. There is no evidence that either the Illinois or Ohio group knew of the plans of the other, much less that the coincidence in time was prearranged. Ditzler, a native Kentuckian of modest literary reputation, was chaplain of the Missouri House of Representatives in 1861. Arrested and released after that pro-Confederate body retired from Jefferson City, he took an eastbound train to avoid further imprisonment.

as a church are . . . in favor of the Union as it was and the constitution as it is."¹⁷

The *Christian Witness*, touted as "a thoroughly religious journal . . . untainted with the . . . fanaticism of the day," nevertheless told readers of its first issue that they "must expect the tone of [the] paper to harmonize with . . . [the] facts," first, that Given, "an American Democrat of the school of Jefferson," was at the helm, and second, that he ardently admired "that noble citizen . . . wise statesman, [and] great patriot . . . Clement L. Vallandigham." "Reverend Given," subsequently wrote an indignant correspondent, "takes occasion . . . [to] spit out . . . venom at every measure President Lincoln adopts." The scriptural cogitations of the Sucker State splinter groups were also filled with allusions to "peace," "constitutional liberty" and the "Union as our Fathers made it."¹⁸

The wound dealt the church's ego by religious insurgency was far greater than any hurt to her corporate prosperity. The maximum calculation of Christian Union membership was 14,000, and this took into consideration apostates from all denominations, movements in states outside the North-west, and the incorporation of religious fragments whose existence antedated the war. Hostile sources give an estimate of 5,000. The sectarian leaders learned that great churches are a combination of many ingredients, and do not arise solely from a hankering for change. Vested ecclesiastical interests, with aggressive lay backing, mercilessly scourged the "hell-begotten . . . rebel loving . . . pro-slavery . . . assembly of traitors" fit "only to be . . . cursed by man and God." How-

¹⁷ "Minutes of the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1866-1881"; *Salem Advocate* and *Central Christian Advocate*, *passim*; William T. Mathis, *Illinois Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church South. A Short History of Its Organization* (Murphysboro, Ill., 1927); *The Crisis*, June 22, 1864; *Zion's Herald*, July 6, 1866, quoting *Christian Witness*; *Lancaster Gazette*, Jan. 21, 28, 1864; *Stark County Democrat*, June 8, 1864; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 22, 1864.

¹⁸ *Madison County Democrat* [Lincoln, Ohio], Dec. 31, 1863; *Western Christian Advocate*, Mar. 23, 1863, quoting *Christian Witness*; *Highland Weekly News*, May 12, 1864; "Minutes of the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1866-1881"; *Central Christian Advocate*, Nov. 12, 1863.

ever, the sect, "organized on the basis of opposition to political fanaticism," discovered no new regions of religious truth. Its doctrinal offerings could scarcely be distinguished from those of more venerable denominations.

Shortages of men and means forced potentially responsive communities to remain unconverted because of the unavailability of missionaries. Preachers quailed before the prospect of makeshift churches and paltry remunerations, despite a fast by the Illinois societies to persuade "Almighty God to send forth more laborers into his vineyard." The composition of the Christian Union made its most serious ailments almost incurable. Kept away from the commercial wealth of urban centers, its evangelists reaped their puny harvests from the poorest byways of the Northwest. Though the Christian Union did not, as predicted, "expire with the Southern Confederacy," when the centripetal pressure of war was relaxed, the movement splintered badly. Given labored for the merger of the organizations of Ohio, Illinois and southern Indiana; but consultations of delegates from these states at Terre Haute in the spring of 1865 were broken up by a collision of views. Some congregations and communicants returned to their earlier affiliations or were ensnared by the world, while one faction retained the Christian Union name and lives on in fitful existence.¹⁹

Obdurately set against the surrender of their Methodist derivations, leaders of the Illinois secession joined with churches in Ohio and Indiana after the collapse of the Terre Haute meetings to inquire about union with different Methodist offshoots. The offer from the Methodist Episcopal Church South, like the Union confessedly "not complicated by political questions or political parties," was accepted with proper

¹⁹ *Southern Christian Advocate* [New Orleans], Apr. 20, 1866; *Highland Weekly News*, May 12, Aug. 4, 1864; "Minutes of the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1866-1881"; Mathis, *Illinois Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church South*, 103. In Illinois the strength of Christian Unionism was drawn almost entirely from dissatisfied Methodists, while the Ohioans were much less exclusive in regard to the previous religious allegiance of their members.

dispatch. In 1867 the Southern Methodists erected their Illinois Conference, and annexed the groups in Indiana and Ohio to Kentucky jurisdictions. In southern Illinois churches whose inscriptions proclaim an allegiance to Southern Methodism still exist in proximity to those devoid of the sectional designation.²⁰

²⁰ "Minutes of the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1866-1881"; *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 1866* (Nashville, Tenn., 1866), 89; Erasmus Q. Fuller, *An Appeal to the Records: a Vindication of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in Its Policy and Proceedings toward the South* (New York, 1876), 301-17.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE METHODISTS

During the fractricidal transactions of 1861-1865, the major architects of federal policy thought that Methodism's might had been used only for the good. A gathering of churchmen was delighted to hear Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase exclaim: "I have thanked God that the Methodist Church . . . knew only one sentiment—that of devotion to . . . our country. . . . How we have leaned upon your bishops . . . your ministers . . . and your great people." . . . Abraham Lincoln reputedly endorsed the judgment of his wartime subordinate. The "church has wielded a controlling influence

in these times," Lincoln told Methodist interviewers in 1864 and went on to say that "we never would have gotten through this crusade without the steady influence of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Flattering as were these solicited opinions, they were nonetheless not a jot ahead of the claims put forward by Methodists themselves. . . . A bare recital of Methodist activity in the war neither confirms nor refutes the utterances of responsible clergymen and public officials.—From Ralph E. Morrow, *Northern Methodism and Reconstruction*.

THE MORMONS AND POLITICS IN ILLINOIS: 1839-1844

BY GEORGE R. GAYLER

THE Mormon problem in Illinois during the 1840's resulted not from any single phase of the settlement of Nauvoo and its outlying districts, but from a combination of characteristics of the Mormons and especially of their leader Joseph Smith. The distrust and hate which came to dominate the citizens of Illinois in relation to the inhabitants of Nauvoo can be traced to the Mormons' attitudes and actions in local and national politics, more than to talk of polygamy or their economic and religious views.

In many respects the Illinoisans created the situation which they were later so vigorously to condemn. They were certainly not unaware of the political possibilities of the Mormons when the latter first entered and settled within the state. The reception offered them and the generous charters making the city and the Nauvoo Legion practically independent of the state government serve as ample proof of that. Whigs and Democrats attempted to outdo each other

George R. Gayler first became interested in Mormon history at Nauvoo, near his home at Macomb. He was graduated from Western Illinois State College at Macomb and took his advanced degrees at Indiana University. After serving three years with the Air Force during World War II, he has taught social science for seven years at Northwest Missouri State College, Maryville, where he is now associate professor.

in securing the support of the new group, and the Mormons were certainly not sufficiently naïve to fail to recognize and to take advantage of this situation.

After Joseph Smith's arrival in Illinois late in 1839 he was too busy with other matters to turn his attention immediately to politics. First he had to care for his followers, secure a place of settlement, and acquire the necessary lands. Then the Prophet journeyed to Washington, seeking federal aid in obtaining redress for injuries suffered by the Saints in Missouri. He presented his petitions to Congress, but was disappointed in an interview with President Martin Van Buren. The famous charters were also being acquired at this time. These endeavors occupied most of Smith's time for the first months of the settlement, and had their effects upon his political feelings. His reception in Washington and especially his treatment by Van Buren soured Smith against the Democratic Party for many months, and definitely influenced his stand in the elections of 1840 and 1841.¹

In the Illinois gubernatorial election of 1838 Thomas Carlin, Democrat, led his Whig opponent Cyrus Edwards in Hancock County by a vote of 633 to 436.² The closeness of this race explained in part the preliminary welcome extended the Mormons by both parties in 1839. Within a year the newly arrived Saints were already beginning to give hints of their influence in state and local politics. The presidential election of 1840 showed that the apprehensions of many Hancock County Gentiles as to Mormon political influence were not unfounded.

As the Mormons' political power grew in Hancock County, anti-Mormon activity also increased. In an editorial published on May 19, 1841 the *Warsaw Signal* denied the

¹ Smith wrote the High Council from Washington: "We do not say the Saints shall not vote for him [Van Buren], but we do say boldly . . . that we do not intend he shall have our votes." William A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (New York, 1923), 243.

² Theodore Calvin Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns 1818-1848* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XVIII), 111.

accusation "of having, for political effect, flattered the Mormons" and declared:

We believe they have the same rights as other religious bodies possess. . . . But whenever they, as a people, step beyond the proper sphere of a religious denomination, and become a political body, as many of our citizens are beginning to apprehend will be the case, then this press stands pledged to take a stand against them. . . . It is bound to oppose the concentration of political power in a religious body, or in the hands of a few individuals.

Similar views were set forth in the resolutions adopted at a mass meeting at Warsaw, one of which stated: "There exists serious grounds of apprehension that the leaders of the Mormon body design, so soon as the numbers of their church constitute a majority of the votes, to control the officers of this county." On June 19 a meeting was held at Warsaw to select delegates to a convention to be held at Carthage, the county seat, on June 28 to nominate candidates for the next election who would be "in opposition to Mormon influence and dictation," and the address adopted by this convention called upon the citizens of Hancock County to "lay aside former party feelings and oppose, as independent freemen, political and military Mormonism."³

The reaction initiated against their political activity after only one election was to have grave consequences for Joseph Smith and his followers. The Mormons swelled the Hancock County vote to 1,976 in the 1840 presidential election—nearly double that of 1838. The Whig candidate William Henry Harrison received more than twice the vote of his Democratic opponent Van Buren (1,352 to 624).⁴ Smith's

³ *Warsaw Signal*, May 19, June 9, 23, July 7, 1841. Such conventions were held throughout the time the Mormons remained in Hancock County.

⁴ Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 117. At Warsaw, Harrison led Van Buren 142 to 78 and at Carthage 219 to 162. *Western World* [Warsaw], Nov. 7, 1840. The name of the *Western World* was changed to *Warsaw Signal* on May 12, 1841. Two hundred Mormons scratched off the last name (Abraham Lincoln) on the Whig electoral ticket, substituting the name of Democrat James H. Ralston. The *Quincy Whig* of Nov. 7, 1840 called this "something connected with the vote at Nauvoo precinct, which needs explanation. . . . Rumor says that the Hon. Richard M. Young, of the U.S. Senate, and the 'little giant,' Stephen A. Douglass, who wants to go to Congress, were present at this election, and of course their names are freely used in

intense dislike of Van Buren was definitely evidenced in these results, for he had apparently had no previous party predilections. The *Western World* of Warsaw seemed already to be aware of this in its initial issue (May 13), since it commented that the Mormons were "for Harrison" in the November election. Governor Thomas Ford explained this vote by indicating that the Mormons were especially bitter toward the Democrats because after supporting the party in Missouri they had been driven out of that state by a Democratic governor.⁵

This Mormon boycott of the Democrats continued in the election for Congress the following year. Undoubtedly also influenced by Whig support in the passage of the Nauvoo charters, the Mormon vote made possible a decisive victory in Hancock County for John T. Stuart, Whig, over James H. Ralston, Democrat (1,201 to 523). Hancock County politics, however, were by this time dividing along Mormon and anti-Mormon rather than Whig and Democratic lines. William H. Roosevelt, a prominent Democrat, had predicted that "the [Gentile] Democrats . . . with scarcely an exception, will vote the Anti-Mormon Ticket." The anti-Mormon candidate for school commissioner won by four votes and the candidate for county commissioner by eighty-four.⁶

A change in Mormon political attitudes took place in the winter of 1841-1842. On December 20, 1841 the Prophet in an open letter to his "friends in Illinois" stated:

In the next canvass, we shall be influenced by no party consideration. . . . We care not a fig for Whig or Democrat; they are both alike to us, but we shall go for our friends, our tried friends, and the cause of human liberty,

connection with this little petty trick." This was done, according to Linn, "to keep the Democrats in good humor." John C. Bennett, the principal Mormon lobbyist for passage of the Nauvoo charters in Springfield, wrote that despite this Lincoln "had the magnanimity to vote for our act, and came forward after the final vote and congratulated me on its passage." Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 244.

⁵ Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois from Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* (Chicago, 1854), 262.

⁶ Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 122; *Warsaw Signal*, July 28, 1841. Stuart received 481 of his 1,201 votes in Nauvoo precinct. *Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1841.

which is the cause of God. We are aware that "divide and conquer" is the watchword with many, but with us it cannot be done—we love liberty too well—we have suffered too much to be easily duped—we have no catspaws amongst us. . . . [Stephen A.] Douglas is a master spirit, and his friends are our friends. . . . [Adam W.] Snyder and [John] Moore are his friends—they are ours. These men are free from the prejudices and superstitions of the age, and such men we love, and such men will ever receive our support, be their political predilections what they may. Snyder and Moore are known to be our friends; . . . they have served us, and we will serve them.⁷

Orville F. Berry, taking Smith at his word, de-emphasized the role that politics played in creating the later unpopularity of the sect. The Prophet and his brother Hyrum, according to Berry, "were ready to go to either [party], where they thought it would work to their advantage."⁸ Events, however, notwithstanding Smith's own words, demonstrated otherwise. Most observers recognized the invalidity of his explanation that no persons had been more instrumental in securing the passage of the Nauvoo charters than the Democrats, for the charters had passed the legislature without a single dissenting vote from either party.⁹

It is not difficult, however, to explain Joseph Smith's unwise actions. Stephen A. Douglas, as a justice of the Supreme Court, had rescued the Prophet at Monmouth from the first attempt of Missouri authorities to extradite him,¹⁰ and more than any other political figure of the time Douglas influenced the thought and actions of the Mormon leader. Smith himself stated in 1841: "Judge Douglas has ever proved him-

⁷ Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (2d ed., Salt Lake City, 1950), IV: 480. In this work the Prophet's diary comprises the text for the period previous to his death. See also comment in *Sangamo Journal* [Springfield], Jan. 14, 21, 1842. Douglas was evidently the determining factor.

⁸ Orville F. Berry, "The Mormon Settlement in Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1906*, p. 96.

⁹ Ford, *History of Illinois*, 263. Snyder, as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, had a large part in the parliamentary procedure of passing the charters.

¹⁰ The Missouri authorities' claims for Smith's extradition rested, first, on alleged "crimes" committed by the Mormons during their residence in that state, and second, on the attempted assassination of ex-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs in May, 1842 by Orrin P. Rockwell, one of the "Danite" band of Mormons. Rockwell's act was publicly approved by the Prophet, though he disclaimed any personal connection or responsibility. Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 245-46.

self friendly to this people, and interested himself to obtain for us our several Charte[r]s." The "freedom of the city" was conferred on Douglas, and he "became a welcome guest at Nauvoo and in the Smith home." Ford also declared that Smith "inclined to esteem his discharge as a great favor from the democratic party."¹¹

This reversal on the part of the Prophet was a major political blunder. "If Smith had been a man possessing any judgment," said William A. Linn, historian of the Mormons, "he would have realized that the political course which he was pursuing, instead of making friends in either party, would certainly soon arraign both parties against him and his followers."¹²

On December 1, 1841 the *Signal* lamented the low attendance at a Democratic meeting in Carthage:

Politics *are* dead in this county, and will continue so, unless one of the parties will consent to the degradation of uniting itself to a corrupt and degraded church, and suffer Joe Smith to become sole Dictator. To this, we trust neither party will consent.

The death, in the midst of the campaign, of Adam W. Snyder, Democratic nominee for governor whom the Prophet praised in the letter quoted above, and the substitution of Thomas Ford in his place did not alter the Mormon vote for the Democratic Party; Ford received 1,748 votes in Hancock County to 711 for his Whig rival, ex-Governor Joseph Duncan.¹³ The wrath of the Whig press of Illinois knew no bounds. The *Sangamo Journal* of Springfield was especially bitter in its attacks on the Mormons; an editorial on January 14, 1842 accused Smith of forsaking religion for politics, and its issue of June 10 charged a collusion between Democrats and Mormons in state politics. The *Warsaw Signal* said:

¹¹ Smith, *History of the Church*, IV: 357; Inez Smith Davis, *The Story of the Church* (Independence, Mo., 1948), 215; Ford, *History of Illinois*, 266-67.

¹² Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 244-45.

¹³ Ford, *History of Illinois*, 267-69; Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 127. Ford carried Nauvoo 454 to 5, while Carthage voted for Duncan 133 to 111 and Warsaw 113 to 96. *Warsaw Signal*, Aug. 13, 1842.

One of our Representatives [William Smith] is a Mormon, and a brother to the Prophet—our Sheriff [Jacob B. Backenstos] is in fact and heart a Mormon. . . . The whole ticket was a mongrel affair, made up by agreement between Joe Smith and some anxious office-seekers, of one of the political parties [the Democrats].¹⁴

Ford later stated in his *History*:

The whigs, seeing that they had been out-generated by the democrats in securing the Mormon vote, became seriously alarmed, and sought to repair their disaster by raising a kind of crusade against that people. The whig newspapers teemed with accounts of the wonders and enormities of Nauvoo, and of the awful wickedness of a party which would consent to receive the support of such miscreants.¹⁵

Niles' National Register estimated that the Saints had about six thousand votes under their immediate control, sufficient to give them the balance of power between parties in the state. It is alleged that they have found out how to make a profitable market of this power. . . . They are now accused of having contracted to support the [Democratic] party . . . in consideration of which the city of Nauvoo had a charter granted to it with very extraordinary powers. . . . Legislative powers [are] conferred upon its officers equal to those possessed by the legislature itself.¹⁶

Smith's invasion of Illinois politics had thus already borne fruit and had set the stage for the grave consequences he and his followers were so soon to suffer. The Prophet did not aid his situation by tongue-in-cheek declarations made obviously for a front, which fooled no one, such as his public statement on the eve of the 1842 election that he did not intend to vote either the Whig or Democratic ticket, but that the Mormons "would go for those who would support good order, &c."¹⁷

He was also reported to have said early in July, 1842 that he would throw "the weight of his church in favor of those who may come out as opponents of the Anti-Mormon convention candidates." The Mormons then "proceeded to nomi-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1842.

¹⁵ Ford, *History of Illinois*, 269.

¹⁶ *Niles' National Register* [Baltimore, Md.], Aug. 6, 1842.

¹⁷ Smith, *History of the Church*, V: 19.

nate a full ticket of Mormons for Hancock County offices."¹⁸ Their strength was sufficient to influence elections, even those of the principal officers of the state. Their weight, though still felt only on a local level, was instrumental in turning the bulk of the citizens of western Illinois violently anti-Mormon.

By the end of 1842 Joseph Smith had totally alienated the Whigs of Illinois, and though seemingly catering to the Democrats had done little to prove his political reliability to that group. By the time of the next major political contest, the congressional election of August, 1843, the Mormon vote had so gained in strength that "Every one conceded that Smith's dictum would decide the contest."¹⁹ Following the familiar pattern, the Prophet publicly stated in January, 1843 in a letter to the Nauvoo *Wasp*:

I have of late had repeated solicitations to have something to do in relation to the political farce about dividing the county; but as my feelings revolt at the idea of having anything to do with politics, I have declined, in every instance, having anything to do on the subject. I think it would be well for politicians to regulate their own affairs. I wish to be let alone, that I may attend strictly to the spiritual welfare of the Church.²⁰

Had Joseph Smith followed these words of wisdom, the next two years of the history of his sect in Illinois might have been different.

The attempts by Missouri authorities during the summer of 1843 to extradite Smith greatly affected Mormon political activity; what would normally have been a routine legal procedure took on in that election year a greatly magnified political emphasis. Governor James Reynolds of Missouri called on Governor Ford in June, 1843 for armed assistance in arresting the Prophet. Soon thereafter Sheriff Backenstos brought word to Nauvoo that Smith need not fear that the Illinois governor would consent to extradition so long as the Mormons continued to vote the Democratic ticket. Ford later admitted that

¹⁸ *Warsaw Signal*, July 9, 1842; *Niles' National Register*, June 25, 1842.

¹⁹ Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 245.

²⁰ Smith, *History of the Church*, V: 259.

such a pledge had been given by a prominent Democrat (whom he did not name), but without his (Ford's) knowledge.²¹

Smith was finally arrested on a visit to his wife's sister in Lee County. His friends "obtained a writ . . . returnable . . . before the nearest competent tribunal, which 'it was ascertained was at Nauvoo.'" Both the Whig candidate for Congress, Cyrus Walker of Macomb, and his Democratic opponent Joseph P. Hoge of Galena defended Smith in the extradition hearing—though the verdict of Smith's own Municipal Court could hardly have been in doubt. Smith said:

Walker . . . told me that he could not find time to be my lawyer unless I could promise him my vote. He being considered the greatest criminal lawyer in that part of Illinois, I determined to secure his aid, and promised him my vote. He afterwards . . . joyfully said, "I am now sure of my election, as Joseph Smith has promised me his vote, and I am going to defend him."²²

The coming election seemed to be settled, for experience had shown that as the Prophet indicated, so voted the Mormons en masse. "The Mormons follow Smith's wishes in politics," wrote an observer late in 1843, "like a sheep following the bell sheep over a wall."²³ By this time the Saints had gained so much in numerical strength that they could outvote most of the rest of the county or congressional district.²⁴

Had matters ended in this way, the repercussions for the Mormons would not have achieved their later intensity. But suddenly, on the Saturday before the August election, Hyrum Smith (Patriarch of the Church and brother of the Prophet) announced before a large mass meeting at Nauvoo that he

²¹ Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 248; Ford, *History of Illinois*, 317-18.

²² Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 247; Smith, *History of the Church*, V: 444.

²³ Charlotte Haven, "A Girl's Letters from Nauvoo," *Overland Monthly* (Dec., 1890), 636.

²⁴ *Sangamo Journal* (quoting the *Rock Island Upper Mississippian*) on Feb. 9, 1841 estimated Nauvoo's population at 3,000. Ford stated that by 1842 there were 16,000 Mormons in Hancock County alone. *History of Illinois*, 229, 313. The total population of Hancock County in 1840 was only 9,946. *Sixth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1841), 86.

had received a "revelation" directing the Mormon population to vote for Hoge. This "revelation" was immediately challenged by William Law, a prominent Mormon leader, and finally Joseph Smith was brought in to decide the issue. He stated:

I am above the kingdoms of this world, for I have no laws. I am not come to tell you to vote this way, that way or the other. In relation to national matters, I want it to go abroad unto the whole world that every man should stand on his own merits. The Lord has not given me a revelation concerning politics. I have not asked Him for one. . . . Mr. Walker . . . is . . . a high-minded man. . . . I voluntarily told him I should vote for him. . . . He withdrew all claim to your vote and influence if it would be detrimental to your interests as a people.

Brother Hyrum tells me this morning that he has had a testimony to the effect it would be better for the people to vote for Hoge; and I never knew Hyrum to say he ever had a revelation and it failed. Let God speak and all men hold their peace.²⁵

Hoge carried Hancock County by a margin of 2,088 to 733.²⁶ The Mormons had once again by a last-minute switch of their vote completely alienated the Whigs and stirred up another outburst of antagonism against themselves. Every Whig paper was loaded with accounts of the wickedness, corruption and enormities of Nauvoo. "From this time forth the whigs generally, and a part of the democrats, determined upon driving the Mormons out of the State; and everything connected with the Mormons became political."²⁷ Ford throws further light upon the Mormon actions in this election:

In the Quincy district, Judge Douglass was the democratic candidate, O. H. Browning was the candidate of the whigs. The leading Mormons at Nauvoo having never determined in favor of the democrats until a day or two before the election, there was not sufficient time, or it was neglected,

²⁵ Smith, *History of the Church*, V: 526. See also Ford, *History of Illinois*, 318-19; Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 248-49.

²⁶ Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 140.

²⁷ Ford, *History of Illinois*, 319. Every possible derogatory incident concerning Nauvoo or Smith was reported by the Whig press. Even a minor rift between Smith and his wife in April, 1844 was reported in a manner greatly out of proportion to its significance. *Warsaw Signal*, Apr. 17, 1844.

to send orders from Nauvoo into the Quincy district, to effect a change there. The Mormons in that district voted for Browning. Douglass and his friends being afraid that I might be in his way for the United States Senate, in 1846, seized hold of this circumstance to affect my party standing, and thereby gave countenance to the clamor of the whigs, secretly whispering it about that I had not only influenced the Mormons to vote for Hoge, but for Browning also. This decided many of the democrats in favor of the expulsion of the Mormons.²⁸

The *Quincy Whig*, however, considered that the Mormons voted for Browning "we suppose, because they considered him, by far, the most talented of the two candidates."²⁹

The furor caused by the unwise Mormon political activity was not long in asserting itself in other sections. On September 2, 1843 *Niles' National Register* carried the following article:

We learn by a gentleman from Warsaw, that a meeting of the people of Hancock County, to be held at Carthage, was called today [August 16] to take into consideration their relation with the Mormons. It is said that a good deal of excitement exists against them, and apprehensions of a serious riot and outbreak were entertained. The people of that section of the state are as heartily tired of the Mormons as ever the citizens of Missouri were, but they have suffered them to obtain so strong a foothold that no power can exist which can deprive them of their positions, or induce them to abandon their present residence.

The same paper four weeks later reported that Gentile citizens of Hancock County had resolved "to refuse to obey the officers elected by the Mormons, who have complete control of the county." Ford reported similar mass meetings at Warsaw where resolutions were passed to expel or exterminate the Mormon population. "This was not a movement which was unanimously concurred in. The county contained a goodly number of inhabitants in favor of peace."³⁰

Joseph Smith would naturally have been expected to recognize and take heed of the serious situation into which his

²⁸ Ford, *History of Illinois*, 319-20.

²⁹ *Quincy Whig*, Oct. 11, 1843.

³⁰ *Niles' National Register*, Sept. 2, 30, 1843; Ford, *History of Illinois*, 330.

unwise political activities were leading him. This, however, was not the case. The Prophet continued to direct his flock steadily toward the imminent destruction of his Illinois settlement, and into a period of chaos and disaster that within less than a year would cost him and his brother their lives.

As early as October 1, 1843 the Mormons, intent upon remaining in the political picture, began looking ahead to the next presidential election. On that date an editorial appeared in their organ *Times and Seasons* urging Mormons to consider in the selection of the president a man who would be most likely to give the Saints aid in securing redress for their grievances, which they had hitherto failed to obtain. To this end Joseph Smith on November 4 addressed letters to Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun—two of the chief aspirants for the nomination the following year. In these letters he cited in detail the history of Mormon persecution in Missouri and their failure to receive redress in either the courts of Missouri or Illinois or in Congress, and also asked what stand each candidate, if elected, would take on this issue.³¹

Clay answered on November 15, 1843, stating:

Should I be a candidate, I can enter into no engagements, make no promises, give no pledge to any particular portion of the people of the United States. If I ever enter into that high office I must go into it free and unfettered, with no guarantees but such as are to be drawn from my whole life, character and conduct.

It is not inconsistent with this declaration to say that I have viewed with lively interest the progress of the Latter-day Saints; that I have sympathized in their sufferings under injustice, as it appeared to me, which have been inflicted upon them; and I think, in common with other religious communities, they ought to enjoy the security and protection of the Constitution and the laws.³²

³¹ Smith also addressed the same letter to Van Buren, adding: "Also whether your views or feelings have changed since the subject matter of this communication was presented to you in your then official capacity at Washington, in the year 1841, and by you treated with a coldness, indifference, and neglect, bordering on contempt." Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 64-65. Smith made no mention of any reply from Van Buren.

³² *Ibid.*, VI: 376. The entire correspondence between Smith, Clay and Calhoun can be found in *Times and Seasons* [Nauvoo], Jan. 1, June 1, 1844; *Niles' National*

Clay's reply excited Smith to anger. After waiting "in the fond expectation, that you would give . . . to the country a manifesto of your views," he answered at great length on May 13, 1844, employing the type of language which had become characteristic of him. Pouring wrath upon Clay's head, the Prophet's reply read in part:

In your answer to my questions, last fall, that peculiar tact of modern politicians, declaring "*if you ever enter into that high office, you must go into it free and unfettered, with no guarantee but such as are to be drawn from your whole life, character and conduct,*" so much resembles a lottery vender's sign, with the goddess of good luck sitting on the car of fortune, a-straddle of the horn of plenty, and driving the merry steeds of beatitude, without reins or bridle, that I cannot help exclaiming; O frail man; what have you done that will exalt you? Can any thing be drawn from your *life, character or conduct* that is worthy of being held up to the gaze of this nation as a model of *virtue, charity and wisdom?* . . .

Your "whole life, character and conduct," have been spotted with deeds that causes a blush upon the fact of a virtuous patriot; so you must be contented in your lot, while crime cowardice, cupidity or low cunning have handed you down from the high tower of a statesman, to the black hole of a gambler. . . . Crape the heavens with weeds of wo; gird the earth with sackcloth, and let hell mutter one melody in commemoration of fallen splendor! for the glory of America has departed, and God will set a flaming sword to guard the tree of liberty, while such mint-tithing Herods as Van Buren, [Lilburn W.] Boggs, [Thomas Hart] Benton, Calhoun, and Clay, are thrust out of the realms of virtue as fit subjects for the kingdom of fallen greatness; *vox reprobi, vox Diaboli!*³³

Calhoun's reply, received December 2, 1843, followed a vein similar to Clay's:

If I should be elected, I would strive to administer the government according to the Constitution and the laws of the union; and that as they make no distinction between citizens of different religious creeds I should make none. As far as it depends on the Executive department, all should have the full benefit of both, and none should be exempt from their operation.

But as your refer to the case of Missouri, candor compels me to repeat

Register, Feb. 3, 1844; G. Homer Durham, *Joseph Smith: Prophet Statesman* (n.p., 1944), 131-38.

³³ *Times and Seasons*, June 1, 1844.

what I said to you at Washington, that, according to my views, the case does not come within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, which is one of limited and specific powers.

On January 2, 1844 the Prophet wrote Calhoun a lengthy and venomous retort not unlike that received by Clay, including, besides a myriad of personal insults, a lecture on the content of the federal Constitution and a history of religious persecution in the United States.³⁴

As a result of these responses from Clay and Calhoun, Smith determined to publish his own personal political views. A long address prepared by the Prophet was read for him on February 7, 1844, setting forth his views of national politics, including such startling recommendations as the following:

Reduce Congress at least one half. . . . Pay them two dollars and their board per diem; (except Sundays,) that is more than the farmer gets, and he lives honestly. Curtail the offices of government. . . .

Petition your state legislatures to pardon every convict . . . blessing them as they go, and saying to them . . . *go thy way and sin no more* When they make laws for . . . any felony, . . . make the penalty applicable to work upon the roads, public works, or any place where the culprit can be taught more wisdom and more virtue; and become more enlightened. . . . Murder only can claim confinement or death. Let the penitentiaries be turned into seminaries of learning. . . .

Petition also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave states, your legislators to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now. . . . Pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands, and from the deduction of pay from the members of Congress. Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire them to labor like other human beings. . . . Abolish . . . court martial for desertion. . . . More economy in the national and state governments. . . .

Let Congress shew their wisdom by granting a national bank, with branches in each state and territory. . . . And the bills shall be par through-out the nation. . . .

Give every man his constitutional freedom, and the president full power to send an army to suppress mobs. . . .

³⁴Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 156-60. The *Warsaw Signal* of June 5, 1844, criticized Smith's violent attitudes toward Clay and Calhoun, and termed the former's answer to Smith "very courteous, yet frank and firm."

When we have the red man's consent, let the union spread from the east to the west sea; and if Texas petitions Congress to be adopted among the sons of liberty, give her the right hand of fellowship; and refuse not the same friendly grip to Canada and Mexico.

It seems almost incomprehensible that the promulgator of such political views, under the conditions of the time, could have taken himself seriously. Smith was, however, in deadly earnest, and so were his multitude of followers in Illinois.³⁵

Smith's announcement was received with mingled scorn, ridicule and anger by his Gentile neighbors. The *Warsaw Signal* declared the Prophet's views "confoundedly dull" and "altogether impenetrable to our intellect," and ended by remarking: "Joe . . . you are a greater dunce than nature ever intended you to be, and that you have about as much knowledge in your cranium of the relative limits and structure of our Governmental polity, as there is essential moisture in a January corn stalk." A week later the *Signal* commented: "As a *General, Legislator, and Jurist*, Joe cant be beat—except by a *jackass*."³⁶

The reception of the Mormon leader's views by his followers in Nauvoo was far different. Immediately after the announcement the *Times and Seasons* and *Nauvoo Neighbor* answered the question they had previously asked in their editorials, "Whom shall the Mormons support for President?" Formal announcement of Smith's candidacy soon appeared in both papers, and the proclamation "FOR PRESIDENT, GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH" was kept on the editorial page until the Prophet's assassination the following June 27. Sidney Rigdon became the Mormon candidate for Vice-President.

This was not the first time the idea of the presidency had come into Smith's mind. As far back as July 7, 1841 the

³⁵ The complete text of Smith's speech appears in *Times and Seasons*, May 15, 1844. A short time afterward Smith gave evidence of his sincerity in making these startling pronouncements by stating at a Nauvoo City Council meeting: "My opinion is that the officers of the city should be satisfied with a very small compensation for their services." Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 331-32.

³⁶ *Warsaw Signal*, March 13, 20, 1844.

Signal had asked in a series of rhetorical "Questions for the 'Times and Seasons'":

Did Joe Smith . . . say, that if they [the anti-Mormons] did not stop their blab about him, he would be President of the United States, (God would give him the office if he wanted it,) and then he would show them what a Bonaparte could do?

Now, however, in election year, the Prophet seemed almost apologetic for permitting his name to be interjected into the national political arena. On February 8, 1844, addressing a political rally in Nauvoo, he declared:

I would not have suffered my name to have been used by my friends on anywise as President of the United States, or candidate for that office, if I and my friends could have had the privilege of enjoying our religious and civil rights as American citizens, even those rights which the Constitution guarantees unto all her citizens alike. But this as a people we have been denied from the beginning. Persecution has rolled upon our heads from time to time, from portions of the United States, like peals of thunder, because of our religion; and no portion of the Government as yet has stepped forward for our relief. And in view of these things, I feel it to be my right and privilege to obtain what influence and power I can, lawfully, in the United States, for the protection of injured innocence; and if I lose my life in a good cause I am willing to be sacrificed on the altar of virtue, righteousness and truth, in maintaining the laws and Constitution of the United States, if need be, for the general good of mankind.³⁷

Immediately Mormon representatives, selected from among the ablest and most loyal of Smith's followers at Nauvoo, were sent out to campaign for their leader. These campaigners included such members of the top Mormon hierarchy as Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson and Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde and John Doyle Lee. The absence of these men was a great disadvantage to Smith when he was arrested and imprisoned at Carthage a few months later. These missing Apostles were then hurriedly recalled, but arrived at Nauvoo too late.³⁸

³⁷ Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 210-11. It is interesting to note Smith's forebodings of his death—which occurred during his campaign for president.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, VI: 519.

The Apostles went immediately about their religious and political mission in many sections of the United States. One incident related by Lee casts light on the evident lack of seriousness that prevailed toward the new candidate's appearance in the field. Lee held a "poll" on a boat bound for St. Louis and the Prophet won 75 to 50. "This," commented Lee dryly, "created a tremendous laugh." The *Nauvoo Neighbor* reported another "poll" taken on May 16, with 29 votes for Smith, 8 for Clay and 2 for Van Buren. "There is a wonderful shrinkage in Henry Clay, but the General is going it with a rush. *Hurrah for the General!*" Incredible as it may appear, the Mormons seemed to take such polls with absolute sincerity.³⁹

In many places, however, the news of Smith's tossing his hat into the ring did not bring such amusement. Governor Ford termed the Prophet's candidacy the act "to crown the whole folly of the Mormons," and the famous Methodist circuit rider Peter Cartwright claimed that "almost every infidel association in the Union declared in his [Smith's] favor." *Niles' Register* reported on March 2 that meetings were being called in Carthage and its vicinity "for the purpose of organizing opposition to the encroachments and usurpations of Joe Smith. . . . They talk openly of the extermination of the Mormons as the only means of securing their own safety."⁴⁰

Smith himself reported the organization of "wolf-hunts," and that February 17 had been set aside as a day of fasting and prayer by Hancock County Gentiles for his destruction.⁴¹ A vicious editorial in the *Signal* condemned Smith's entrance

³⁹ John Doyle Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled* (St. Louis, 1877), 149; *Nauvoo Neighbor*, May 26, 1844; Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 385. Lee was one of the most trusted followers and henchmen of Joseph Smith and later of Brigham Young. He was executed in 1876 for his part in the infamous "Mountain Meadows Massacre" in Utah in September, 1857.

⁴⁰ Ford, *History of Illinois*, 321; Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of a Backwoods Preacher* (New York, 1856), 346; *Niles' National Register*, March 2, 1844.

⁴¹ Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 222-23. No mention of this was made in Hancock County newspapers of the day, although the *Warsaw Signal* of Feb. 14 announced another anti-Mormon county convention.

into politics and Mormon control of county elections.⁴² The Prophet, however, either could not or would not heed the ominous warnings, and proceeded blindly toward his own destruction and that of his Illinois community.

The Mormon state convention was naturally called for Nauvoo. The date set was May 17, 1844. Delegates from twenty-seven states and ten Illinois counties were in attendance. The ticket headed by Smith and Rigdon was formally adopted, and thirteen resolutions were passed attacking Tyler's administration and setting forth Smith's concepts of government as their platform. The convention adjourned on the same day, after resolving to hold its national convention in Baltimore on July 13.⁴³ Mormon conventions in Boston and in Dresden, Tennessee, ended in riots, brought about by the extremely hostile attitudes of non-Mormons.⁴⁴ The delegates to the Baltimore convention "assembled in a gloomy spirit . . . having just received intelligence of the murder of the man they all contemplated to have named as their candidate for the presidency. They met and resolved to adjourn 'sine die.'"⁴⁵

How serious a political disturbance Smith's campaign would have created is, of course, impossible to ascertain. Judging, however, from the troubles in Illinois, Massachusetts and Tennessee due largely to the announcement of his candidacy, the United States may have been saved from the bloodiest election in its history by the death of the Prophet. In the election of 1844, with the Mormons once again voting the Democratic ticket, James K. Polk carried Hancock County over Clay by a vote of 1,399 to 747.⁴⁶

⁴² *Warsaw Signal*, Feb. 28, 1844.

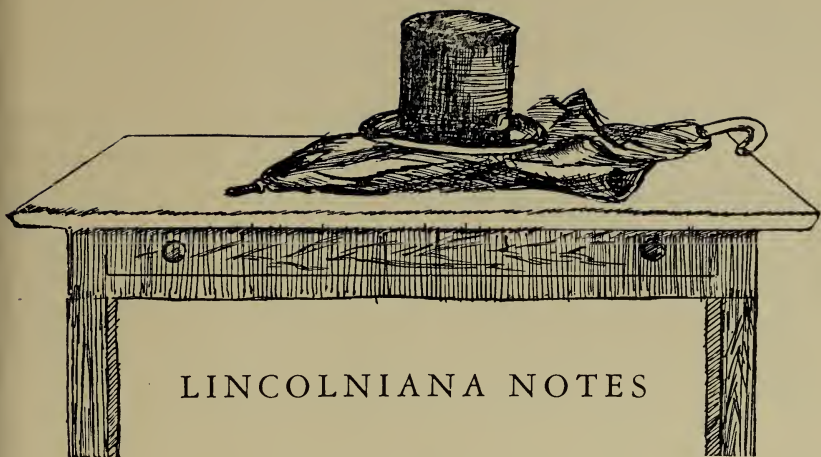
⁴³ *Ibid.*, May 8, 1844; Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 386-97, giving the list of delegates and the complete proceedings.

⁴⁴ Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 254-55.

⁴⁵ *Niles' National Register*, July 20, 1844. At least one newspaper was started to promote Smith's candidacy: "FUNNY.—A paper has been started in Belleville, Ills. which supports Joe Smith's claims for the Presidency. It is Edited by Fredrick Snyder, (son of Adam W. Snyder deceased, late candidate for Governor,) and entitled the 'Politician.'" *Warsaw Signal*, May 8, 1844.

⁴⁶ Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 149; *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], Jan. 31, 1845.

Had Joseph Smith possessed the foresight to realize the results of his unwise political actions, he would undoubtedly have employed moderation. Too late the Prophet found he had instigated a reaction, the intensity of which he had theretofore never been forced to face. The Mormon inhabitants of Nauvoo, by their unwise political maneuvers, had lighted the conflagration that in a few weeks snuffed out the life of their leader and brought disaster to their proud city.



LINCOLNIANA NOTES

WILLIE LINCOLN, CIVIL WAR CORRESPONDENT

BY LARRY KRAMP

Abraham Lincoln, a masterly letter writer, fathered Willie who wrote some little gems in his own right.¹

One day in 1861 they both had reason to write about the same matter: the first officer of note killed in the Civil War, Colonel Elmer Ephraim Ellsworth.

On May 25, the day after Ellsworth's death, Lincoln wrote the officer's parents a moving, consoling letter. Willie, then ten years old, wrote a terse report of the event to a former Springfield playmate, Henry Remann. Henry, who lived at the other end of the block from Willie in Springfield, had apparently been demanding a reply to other missives.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Illinois State Historian, said that Willie's letter, just acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library, reveals a budding journalistic talent. Most of the essential elements of a news story are contained in it. Pratt attributes the brackets, a new development in the correspondence of the boy, to the influence of a new tutor.

¹ This Associated Press story appeared in a number of newspapers on February 12, 1956—Lincoln's birthday and the date of the death of Dr. Harry E. Pratt—with a Springfield, Illinois, dateline. Footnotes have been added for this republication.

This is what Willie wrote to Henry:

You request a letter, & here it is. I want you to give my respects to Edward McClermand,² and tell him that I feel very sorry about his mother, and one more thing. Colonel E. E. Ellsworth went over to Alexandria, Va. and determined to take the secession flag down of the Marshall house. So he rushed up the steps untill he reached the pole, took down the flag, wrapped it around him [8 men with him], and coming down the steps [his comrade, Brownell,³ being in front of him] & Jackson [a sessionists] behind him, shot him. immediately his [ellsworth's] comrades] went & killed Jackson.

Lincoln's letter to the dead officer's parents revealed his affection and admiration for Ellsworth. He had been a student in Lincoln's law office in Springfield, a stump speaker in the central Illinois presidential campaign and a confidant who accompanied the president-elect to Washington.⁴

Ellsworth must have been much admired by Willie, Pratt says, because the boy had written earlier in the same month to ask Henry if he had heard about Ellsworth's regiment of Zouaves which was sworn in at Washington.

In September of the same year, in another letter to Henry, Willie wrote about his troubles in organizing a company of boys "which is in a high state of efficiency and discipline."

Willie, of course, was the much-loved boy whose death

² Edward John McClermand, born Dec. 29, 1848, lacked just eight days of being two years older than Willie, who was born Dec. 21, 1850. The two boys had undoubtedly played together in Springfield, where Edward's father John A. McClermand was one of Lincoln's colleagues at the Sangamon County bar. The senior McClermand resigned from Congress at the end of the 1861 special session to take the field, and became a major general. Edward McClermand attended West Point, received the Congressional Medal of Honor in 1894 for gallantry in action against the Nez Percé Indians, and later served in the Spanish-American War and the Philippines. He retired as a brigadier general in 1912 and died Feb. 9, 1926. Mrs. Sarah Dunlap McClermand, his mother, died May 7, 1861.

³ Lieutenant Francis E. Brownell. Jackson, who killed Ellsworth, was the proprietor of the Marshall House.

⁴ *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Assn. ed., 1953), IV: 385-86. Ellsworth was in such close contact with Willie and eight-year-old Tad that he caught the measles from them.

WILLIE LINCOLN'S CIVIL WAR REPORT

The reproduction of the letter and envelope addressed to Henry Remann on the opposite page is the same size as the originals in the Illinois State Historical Library. Note the frank on the envelope signed by John G. Nicolay, one of Lincoln's secretaries.

Washington, D.C. May 25/61

Dear Henry

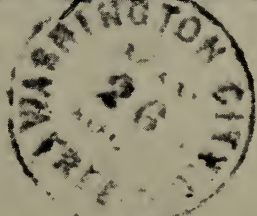
You reply

letter, & here it is. I want you to give my respects
to Edward M^r Cleveland, and tell him that I feel
very sorry about his mother, and one more thing.
Colonel E. S. Ellsworth went over to Alexandria, Va.,
& determined to take ^{the} secession flag down of the
Marshall house. So he rushed up the steps until he
reached the pole, took down the flag, wrapped it around
him [3 men with him], and coming down the steps [his
squad, Brownell, being in front of him] a Jackson [a se-
cessionist] behind him, shot him. immediately his [El-
sworth's] comrades] went & killed Jackson,

Yours truly

William Lincoln

From the President of the United States



John C. Nicolay
Pres. Secy

Master Henry Brewster,

Springfield,

Sangamon Co.,

Illinois.

are of \$ 3.
black.

struck such grief into Lincoln and his wife after less than a year in the White House.

During the eighth of his twelve years, about the time Lincoln had completed his famous debates, Willie went to Chicago with his father and gave his impression of their hotel in "three bears" style.⁵

He died of a cold and fever caught in a chilly rain in February, 1862, while riding his pony in Washington. His body lies now in Lincoln's Tomb in Springfield.⁶

EDGAR DE WITT JONES, 1876-1956

The Rev. Edgar DeWitt Jones, Lincoln author, lecturer and collector, died at his home in Pleasant Ridge, Michigan (a suburb of Detroit) on March 26, 1956. From 1906 to 1920 he was pastor of the First Christian Church of Bloomington, Illinois, going from there to the Central Woodward Christian Church of Detroit, of which he became pastor emeritus in 1947. He won the W. J. Long prize for the best Lincoln sermon of 1939.

His continuing interest in Lincoln was evidenced by his service as director of the Abraham Lincoln Association since 1930 and his authorship of *The Greatening of Abraham Lincoln* (1946), *Lincoln and the Preachers* (1948), *The Influence of Henry Clay upon Abraham Lincoln* (1952) and numerous shorter articles in the field of Lincolniana.

In 1955 Dr. Jones sold his Lincoln collection to the Detroit Public Library, which has integrated its previous holdings of Lincolniana with it. The whole is to be known as the Edgar DeWitt Jones Lincoln Collection. The \$17,000 purchase price was donated to the Library by C. Allen Harlan.

⁵ This letter was published in the Spring 1954 issue of this *Journal* (page 66). Willie's "first attempt at poetry" was published in *The Washington National Republican* on Nov. 4, 1861, prompted by the death of Col. Edward D. Baker for whom his brother Eddie (1846-1850) was named.

⁶ Willie died Feb. 20, 1862, and was temporarily interred at Georgetown, D.C. His body was brought back to Springfield on his father's funeral train in 1865.

ILLINOIS IN 1955

COMPILED BY JAMES N. ADAMS

JANUARY

- Jan. 5 The 69th General Assembly convenes. Warren L. Wood of Plainfield is re-elected speaker of the House, with Lieutenant Governor John W. Chapman presiding over the Senate.
- Jan. 7 Illinois College, Jacksonville, celebrates the 125th anniversary of the first collegiate instruction in Illinois, given at that institution.
- Jan. 10 State Treasurer Warren E. Wright and Superintendent of Public Instruction Vernon L. Nickell are inaugurated.
- Jan. 17 President Dwight D. Eisenhower's budget as submitted to Congress includes \$10,000,000 for flood control and waterways in Illinois.
- Jan. 22 The world's largest bookstore—the merged Kroch's-Brentano's—opens in Chicago.
- Jan. 25 The site of Camp Ellis in Fulton County is sold for farm land.
- Walter M. Provine, 81, of Taylorville, former president of the Illinois State Bar Association and state representative 1905-9 and 1911-17, dies.
- Jan. 26 Among the nine U.S. cities honored by the National Municipal League and *Look* magazine are Chicago (for slum clearance) and Rock Island (for reform in city government).
- Jan. 27 Charles Leo "Gabby" Hartnett, Chicago Cub catcher 1922-40, and Theodore "Ted" Lyons, White Sox pitcher 1923-48, are elected to the National Baseball Hall of Fame. On Jan. 31 Ray Schalk, Harvel native and White Sox catcher 1915-28, is elected to the Hall of Fame by the Old-Timers Committee. All three players managed their Chicago teams after their active playing careers.

FEBRUARY

- Feb. 3 President Paul E. Magloire of Haiti and 13 officials of his government arrive in Chicago for a three-day visit.
- Feb. 6 Eureka College begins the celebration of its centennial year.
- Feb. 12 The second floor of the Lincoln Home is opened to the public for the first time since the property was presented to the state by Robert T. Lincoln in 1887. Other Lincoln's birthday observances are noted in the Spring 1955 *Journal*, pages 108-9.

- Feb. 22 Colonel Calvin H. Goddard, 63, ballistics authority and founder of the first crime detection laboratory in the U.S. at Northwestern University, dies in Washington, D.C.
- Richard J. Daley, Cook County clerk and Democratic chairman, defeats Mayor Martin H. Kennelly and Benjamin S. Adamowski for nomination for mayor of Chicago. Daley defeats Republican nominee Robert E. Merriam in the April 5 election and is inaugurated April 19. He is succeeded as county clerk by Edward J. Barrett, former state treasurer, state auditor and secretary of state.
- Feb. 23 Rotary International's 8,700 clubs in 90 countries join in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the organization's founding in Chicago by Paul P. Harris. Its world headquarters are in Evanston; the international president for 1954-55 is Herbert J. Taylor of Chicago; and the golden anniversary convention is held in Chicago May 29-June 2.
- Feb. 27 Dr. Leland H. Carlson is inaugurated president of Rockford College. In September the college, which has operated for over a century as a women's college, opens a men's department, and begins intercollegiate sports competition with the 1955-56 basketball season.
- Feb. 28 Charles H. Davis (Rep.) of Rockford is elected to the Illinois Supreme Court to fill the vacancy caused by the 1954 resignation of Justice William M. Fulton.

MARCH

- Mar. 7 Mrs. Mabel S. Shaw, 84, publisher of the *Dixon Telegraph* and president of the B. F. Shaw Publishing Company which owns the *Telegraph*, *Woodstock Sentinel*, *Morris Herald*, *McHenry Plain-dealer* and three Iowa papers, dies in Florida.
- Mar. 9 Lyman V. Emmons, 70, state representative 1921-25 and senator 1925-29, is killed in an accident near Lawrenceville.
- Mar. 11 Oscar F. Mayer, 95, founder of the packing company bearing his name and the last of the "giants of the yards," dies in Chicago.
- Mar. 13 The *Chicago Daily News* and Chicago Key clubs (high school groups sponsored by Kiwanis International) are sponsors of a mammoth rally at Chicago's International Amphitheater at which 30,000 teen-agers join to prevent juvenile delinquency and to emphasize the good qualities of youth. On Feb. 22, 1956 Freedoms Foundation presents its highest award to the *Daily News* and the Key clubs for this promotion.

- Mar. 19 The Illinois high school basketball championship goes to Rockford for the first time since 1939 as West High defeats Elgin 61-59 in the final game of the last of the "Sweet Sixteen" tournaments. Pinckneyville wins third place for the third consecutive year; Princeton is fourth. Only eight teams will go to Urbana in future years.
- Frank Johnson, 65, of Kewanee, beginning his second term in the Illinois Senate after one term in the House, dies.
- Mar. 20 Robert J. Thorne, 80, former president of Montgomery Ward & Company and son of the company's cofounder, dies at La Jolla, California.
- Mar. 22 Daniel W. Tracy, 68, president emeritus of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, dies in Washington. He was a native of Bloomington.
- Mar. 25 New record low temperatures for this late in the season are set in the Midwest as the result of a late-season blizzard.
- Mar. 28 Governor William G. Stratton presents his budget message to the General Assembly, calling for a record \$1,710,000,000 biennial expenditure, a raising of the sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent and a "use tax" on out-of-state purchases by Illinoisans.
- Mar. 30 Chicago's Midway Airport becomes the nation's first official port of entry not located on the country's boundary. A new customs building is dedicated Dec. 6. Despite the opening of O'Hare International Airport and improvements at Meigs Field, Midway remains the busiest airport in the country, breaking its own records with 8,751,906 passengers arriving and departing on 304,276 scheduled flights (up 16.2 and 15.5 per cent respectively from 1954) plus another estimated 500,000 passengers on 76,831 non-scheduled flights.
- Mar. 31 Dr. Jerald C. Brauer, Lutheran clergyman, is named the first dean of the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago, composed of the U. of C. Divinity School (Baptist), Chicago Theological Seminary (Congregational), Meadville Seminary (Unitarian) and Disciples' Divinity House. He is inaugurated Oct. 10.

APRIL

- Apr. 1 Colonel Robert R. McCormick, 74, editor and publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, dies at his home near Wheaton.
- Edward A. Hayes, 62, assistant attorney general under Governor Emmerson and national commander of the American Legion 1933-34, dies in Chicago.

- Apr. 11 Earle Benjamin Searcy, 67, clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court since 1944, after service in the House 1921-23 and in the Senate 1923-44, dies at Hinsdale. On Apr. 13 the Court names his widow, Lula Fae Isenberg Searcy, as his successor—the first woman to hold the post.
- Apr. 12 Illinois governmental and medical authorities join those of other states in an effort to immunize as many children as possible against poliomyelitis with the new vaccine developed by Dr. Jonas E. Salk and announced today—the tenth anniversary of the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt—by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. The number of polio cases in Illinois drops 38 per cent—1,385 as compared to 2,181 in 1954—and there is a marked decrease in the severity of attacks suffered by immunized children.
- Apr. 15 The Illinois Supreme Court upholds a circuit court decision that Montgomery Ward & Company's "stagger" system of electing three directors annually from a board of nine violates the cumulative-voting provisions of the Constitution of 1870. Sewell L. Avery resigns as president of Ward's on May 9 and is succeeded by John A. Barr.
- Apr. 20 Dr. Harry Woodburn Chase, 72, dies at Sarasota, Florida. He was president of the University of Illinois 1930-33, of the University of North Carolina and chancellor of New York University.
- Apr. 24 Elmer C. Jensen, 85, dean of Chicago architects and former president of the Illinois Society of Architects, dies at South Haven, Michigan. Among the Chicago buildings constructed by him are 29 skyscrapers and 26 banks.

MAY

- May 3 Fred A. Sapp, 78, publisher of the *Ottawa Republican-Times* since 1916 and an official of the paper since 1900, dies in Chicago.
- May 5 The *Chicago Defender*, largest Negro newspaper in the U.S., begins the celebration of its semicentennial year by awarding President Eisenhower the Robert S. Abbott award, named in honor of the paper's founder. Members of both races pay tribute to the *Defender* at Orchestra Hall on Dec. 2.
- May 10 Stephen T. Hurley, 62, president of the Chicago Civil Service Commission throughout Mayor Kennelly's administration and president of the Chicago Bar Association 1944-45, dies in Oregon.
- May 12 The Illinois Civil Service Commission celebrates its fiftieth anniversary as host to the central regional conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, opening a three-day session in Springfield.

- May 13 The Illinois State Historical Society begins its two-day spring tour in Jacksonville (see Summer 1955 *Journal*, pages 225-27).
- May 19 Sandra Sloss, 13, of Granite City, wins the twenty-eighth annual national spelling bee at Washington, D.C. in a field of 62 contestants.
- May 25 Vincent Auriol, first president of the Fourth Republic (Post-World War II) of France, arrives in Chicago for three days.
- May 27 Brigadier General Richard Lee Jones, director of the U.S. foreign aid mission to Liberia since 1954, is appointed U.S. ambassador to that country, succeeding the late Jesse D. Locker. Jones, the first Chicago Negro to attain ambassadorial rank, retired from the Army in 1953.
- May 31 The United States Supreme Court holds the Illinois toll road law constitutional. The Toll Road Commission sells \$415,000,000 in toll road bonds, to run 40 years at 3.75 per cent interest, to a syndicate on Oct. 25, but litigation holds up their delivery until Jan. 23, 1956. Vice-Admiral Francis P. Old resigns as executive director of the Commission on Aug. 1, and is succeeded on Oct. 31 by Charles L. Dearing of the Brookings Institution. Austin L. Wyman of Glencoe succeeds Evan Howell as chairman on Jan. 27, 1956.

JUNE

- June 1 Dr. William C. Reavis, 73, professor emeritus of education at the University of Chicago, dies. He was on the faculty 1921-47 and was the author of eleven books on educational administration.
- June 8 Mrs. Gertrude Richards, 71, treasurer-general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, dies at her Chicago home.
- The Northern Illinois College of Optometry (founded 1872) and the Chicago College of Optometry (founded 1937), which between them have graduated more than half of the nation's optometrists, merge under the name Illinois College of Optometry. Dr. Eugene W. Strawn is the first president of the merged institution.
- June 16 Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov takes a sight-seeing tour of Chicago between trains en route to the tenth anniversary meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco. On his return June 27 he visits the Museum of Science and Industry.
- The General Assembly enacts the first legislative reapportionment act since 1901, according to the constitutional amendment approved with bipartisan support at the November, 1954 election. Beginning with the 70th General Assembly there will be 58 Senate

districts—18 in Chicago, 6 in the rest of Cook County and 34 downstate—apportioned by area and to remain permanent. The 59 House districts, each electing 3 representatives—23 in Chicago, 7 in the rest of Cook County and 29 downstate—are apportioned by population and are to be reapportioned within the three major geographical divisions following each decennial census. The Illinois Supreme Court holds this act valid on Jan. 19, 1956.

- June 30 Reapportionment is the chief accomplishment of the 69th General Assembly which adjourns today. It also passed a new revenue article to be voted on at the 1956 general election; raised the state sales tax from 2 to 2½ per cent and authorized cities to add another ½ per cent by council action without popular referendum (by Oct. 13 this tax had been adopted by 423 towns and cities); authorized a lake-front exposition hall in Chicago; authorized Chicago to issue \$245,000,000 in bonds to build expressways; appropriated \$1,000,000 for Salk polio vaccine for Illinois children; increased unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation; authorized absentee voting by sick and disabled persons; passed a new act regulating practice in Illinois courts; authorized 100 additional state policemen; increased the salary of judges by \$4,000 per annum; created a new Division of Traffic Safety, and a psychiatric training and research authority with a \$1,000,000 appropriation; and passed the Broyles bills requiring non-communist oaths from every person paid in whole or in part from funds of the state or any of its subdivisions. The number of bills introduced (2,158), the number vetoed (189 and parts of 8 others), the total appropriation (\$1,750,000,000) and the total expense of the session (\$2,797,162 according to State Auditor Orville E. Hodge) were all-time records.

Oil production in Illinois during June is the highest of any month since March, 1943. Three new pools were discovered and 357 new wells drilled.

JULY

- July 1 The U.S. Census Bureau estimates Illinois' population as of today at 9,361,000—a gain of 648,824 over the 8,712,176 shown by the last (1950) census. The state's population 25 years ago (1930) was 7,630,654; 75 years ago (1880), 3,077,871; 100 years ago (1855 state census), 1,300,251; and 125 years ago (1830) only 157,445.
- July 3 Victor I. Knowles, 65, chairman of the state board of pardons and paroles and publisher of the *Elkville Journal*, dies at his home. Robert B. Phillips of Beardstown, a board employee for 26 years

and superintendent of paroles since 1949, is named on Aug. 23 as his successor.

- July 4 The National Education Association opens a six-day convention in Chicago. On July 8 John Lester Buford, Mt. Vernon (Ill.) elementary school superintendent, is installed as president for 1955-56.
- July 8 Walter O. Edwards, 73, state representative 1933-55, dies at his Danville home.
- Dr. Edgar J. Townsend, 91, professor emeritus of mathematics at the University of Illinois and dean of the University's College of Science 1905-13, dies at his Champaign home.
- July 9 Arch Ward, 58, sports editor of the *Chicago Tribune* for 25 years, dies. He was conductor of the column "In the Wake of the News" and originator of the All-Star baseball and football games and the Golden Gloves boxing tournaments.
- July 11 Ulysses S. DeMoulin, 83, president of DeMoulin Brothers & Co. of Greenville, largest uniform manufacturers in the United States, dies.
- July 15 The Illinois and Indiana highway departments take over operation of the Wabash River bridge between New Harmony, Indiana and White County, Illinois on U.S. Route 460 and discontinue collection of tolls.
- The *S. S. Aquarama*, largest vessel to sail the Great Lakes, begins a season (until Labor Day) as an amusement ship off Chicago's Navy Pier. In future seasons she is to be a lake excursion vessel.
- July 16 William Busse, 91, Republican leader of suburban Cook County and a member of the county board since 1900 except for two years, dies at Elgin.
- July 17 A Convair plane operated by Braniff Airways crashes at Chicago's Midway Airport, killing 22 persons and injuring 21. It is the worst crash in Midway's history.
- July 19 Cornelius S. Kelly, 82, past national commander-in-chief of the United Spanish-American War Veterans and civic leader in the Normal Park section of Chicago, dies.
- July 25 The last train runs on the Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee Railroad's shore line.
- Aleksandr Ezhevski and Nikolai Bogach, two members of a Russian agricultural delegation touring the Midwest, visit the Caterpillar Tractor plant in Peoria for two days, followed by a day at the John Deere plant in Moline. The entire twelve-man delega-

tion visits Chicago Aug. 11-15, with a side trip to the DeKalb Agricultural Association and for seven of them to the State Fair and Lincoln Tomb at Springfield on Aug. 13.

July 28 Michael Fahy, 89, state representative from Marshall County 1909-35, dies in Chicago.

July 29 Richard B. Vail, 59, Chicago manufacturer, member of the War Labor Board during World War II and representative in the 80th and 82d Congresses, dies.

July 31 This is the nineteenth day of 90-degree temperatures in Chicago during July, a new record for one month. Water pumpage reaches a new monthly record of 38,418,540,000 gallons (the daily record was set July 28 at 1,513,140,000 gallons when the temperature reached its 1955 high of 100.4 degrees). The average temperature for the month is 81.4 degrees, also a new record. The entire summer is the hottest in the 84 years of Chicago weather records, with an average temperature of 76.4 degrees, and has forty-six 90-degree days, breaking 1953's record of 42. Reflecting the increased use of fans and air conditioners, Chicago sets a new all-time record for electrical consumption in one day on Aug. 18, only to break it on Aug. 29 with 3,359,000 kilowatts.

— The new privately-owned "museum" and souvenir shop (Garvey Enterprises, Inc.) across Eighth Street from the Lincoln Home in Springfield opens its doors to the public.

— The Rev. James F. Maguire, president of Xavier University of Cincinnati, is named to succeed the Very Rev. James T. Hussey as president of Loyola University of Chicago.

AUGUST

Aug. 1 Herbert E. Longenecker, former dean of the graduate school at the University of Pittsburgh, begins his duties as vice-president of the University of Illinois in charge of the professional colleges in Chicago.

— Louis M. Anderson, 72, who edited the Chicago Norwegian-Danish-language newspaper *Skandinaven* (founded by his father John) from 1910 until it merged with the *Decorah* (Iowa) *Posten* in 1941, dies.

— Brink's, Inc., of Chicago is closed by a strike lasting until Sept. 7. Deliveries of money are protected by city police.

Aug. 9 The National Governors' Conference begins a four-day session in Chicago. This is the first time in the conference's forty-seven years that it has met in Illinois.

- Aug. 12 The 103d Illinois State Fair opens its ten-day program in Springfield. The first nation-wide telecast ever made from the Fair occurs on Aug. 17—a portion of the U.S. Steel Hour in connection with the celebration of the 75th anniversary of that company's South Chicago works.
- Aug. 15 Northern Illinois Gas Company begins a four-day centennial celebration at Ottawa. Its predecessor was chartered Aug. 18, 1855.
- Aug. 24 David Stricklin, 65, of Pontiac, a porter on the Gulf, Mobile & Ohio's "Abraham Lincoln," is named America's most courteous railroad employee. The nation-wide competition is conducted by the Federation for Railway Progress.
- Aug. 25 Jacksonville begins a three-day celebration of its new 23-mile pipeline to the Illinois River near Naples. Water has been flowing through the pipeline since Aug. 8.
- Aug. 27 John H. Walker, 83, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor 1913-30, dies in Denver, Colorado.
- Aug. 28 Emmet Till, 14-year-old Chicago Negro, is abducted from a Mississippi cabin where he is vacationing with relatives. Three days later a mutilated body identified as that of the youth is found in the Tallahatchie River. On Nov. 9 the Lefflore County grand jury fails to indict for kidnaping the two men who earlier had been acquitted of the murder. A request by Governor Stratton for federal intervention is denied on the ground that no federal law was involved.
- Aug. 31 General Motors Corporation celebrates the building of its 100,000,000th diesel horsepower by a "Powerama" show covering 1,000,000 square feet on the Chicago lake front. The show attracts 2,218,412 visitors before it closes on Sept. 25.

SEPTEMBER

- Sept. 1 Dr. David Dodds Henry assumes the presidency of the University of Illinois. The University's enrollment of 24,000 makes it the fifth largest in the United States and the largest outside New York.
- Sept. 2 Herold C. Hunt, former superintendent of Chicago schools, is named U.S. undersecretary of Health, Education and Welfare.
- Sept. 4 Arthur C. Boggess, 81, author of *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830*, dies at Berea, Ohio.
- Colonel Carlos M. Talbott of Charleston, Ill., wins the 1955 Bendix trophy cross-country race by flying 2,325 miles at an average speed of 610 miles per hour.

- Sept. 5 George A. Williston, 72, state representative 1921-27 and 1941-49, dies in Chicago.
- Sept. 6 Enoch A. Holtwick, professor emeritus of history and government at Greenville College, is selected by the National Prohibition Party at its convention in Milford, Indiana, as the party's presidential candidate for 1956.
- Sept. 7 Drennan J. Slater, 52, general solicitor for the Chicago & North Western Railway and state representative 1933-41, is killed by a train at Evanston.
- Sept. 9 Sister Mary Evelyn (Katherine Murphy), 71, dean of Rosary College at River Forest 1929-37 and its president 1937-43, dies at Sinsinawa, Wisconsin. She was born in Kewanee.
- Sept. 10 It is announced that the 1955 peach crop, due to late spring freezes, amounts to only 83,000 bushels—7 per cent of the 1954 total. The apple crop is about 29 per cent below last year's figures.
- Sept. 13 John H. Hauberg, 85, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, dies at Rock Island (see Winter 1955 *Journal*, pages 359-65, Summer 1952, pages 137-45).
- Governor Stratton is the principal speaker at the dedication of the new free highway bridge across the Illinois River at Beardstown.
- Clint Youle, publisher of the *Galena Gazette & Advertiser*, purchases the *Savanna Times-Journal*, *Hanover Journal* and *Elizabeth Times* from Franklin J. and Franklin U. Stransky and D. C. Pickard.
- Sept. 15 Dr. Howard W. Trovillion of Godfrey is elected chief pilot (president) of the interstate Mississippi River Parkway Planning Commission at its meeting at Kenora, Ontario, the junction of the proposed parkway with the Trans-Canada Highway.
- Samuel G. Ingraham, 72, descendant of Evanston pioneers and city official 1925-53, the last 12 years as mayor, dies.
- Sept. 16 Major General John V. Clinnin, 79, of Wilmette, dies in Chicago. He served in the Spanish-American War, was colonel of the 130th Infantry in World War I, and organized and commanded the Illinois Reserve Militia at the beginning of World War II. He was a long-time member of the Illinois Civil Service Commission, and chairman of the Illinois Athletic Commission under Governor Emmerson.
- The Very Rev. Harold W. Rigney, S.V.D. (Society of the Divine Word), of Chicago is released by the Red Chinese after having been imprisoned since July, 1951.

- Sept. 17 The Granite City bi-state authority harbor is dedicated by Governor Stratton and Prentiss Mooney, director of the Missouri Division of Resources and Development, representing Governor Phil M. Donnelly.
- Dr. Abraham Levinson, 67, chief of staff at Cook County Children's Hospital, professor of pediatrics at Northwestern University and author of numerous books and articles in the field, dies.
- Sept. 18 The Fifth World Congress of Hebrew Christians begins a week's session in Chicago. It is the first time the Congress has met in the United States.
- Governor Stratton is the principal speaker at the dedication of Red Hills Lake in Red Hills State Park, Lawrence County.
- Sept. 22 The Rev. Hervin U. Roop, 86, former professor at Wheaton College and one-time president of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, dies at his Chicago home.
- Sept. 23 Walter Dill Scott, 86, president (1920-39) and president emeritus of Northwestern University, dies in Evanston. He won the Distinguished Service Medal for devising the Army's personnel classification system during World War I.
- The resignation of Frank Lane as general manager of the Chicago White Sox, which in seven years he had lifted from last place in the American League to three years in third, is accepted. Charles A. Comiskey II, vice-president of the Sox and grandson of the club's founder, takes over active direction of its business activities. On Oct. 6 Lane becomes general manager of the St. Louis Cardinals.
- Captain John O. Anderson, 76, who directed the rescue of 4,700 persons from Lake Michigan during his 23-year tenure as commander of the Chicago Coast Guard station (1916-39), dies at Ellison Bay, Wisconsin.
- Sept. 24 Governor Stratton dedicates the restored Market House at Galena (see Autumn 1955 *Journal*, pages 349-50).
- Sept. 25 Forty-eight Illinois cities including Chicago continue on daylight saving time till the last Sunday of October instead of returning to standard time today with the majority of cities which have observed it since the last Sunday of April.
- Sept. 29 Bruce A. Campbell, 75, Illinois Democratic leader for half a century, state representative 1905-7 and former president of the Illinois State Bar Association, dies at Phoenix, Arizona.
- Dr. Louis L. Thurstone, 68, professor of psychology at the University of Chicago 1924-52 and president of the American Psychologi-

- cal Association in 1932, dies at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Aptitude, personality and occupational classification tests were made possible through psychological facts discovered by Dr. Thurstone.
- Ekco Products Company of Chicago announces that it and the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) have formed a new company which will be the world's largest producer of aluminum foil containers.
- Ninety-eight-year-old St. James' Church of Chicago, designated as the cathedral of the Chicago Protestant Episcopal diocese on May 4, is officially consecrated as such when Bishop Gerald Francis Burrill is enthroned.
- Sept. 30 The Jewish People's Institute of Chicago closes after 52 years of service.
- Construction begins on the Chicago Regional Port District's \$24,000,000 Lake Calumet harbor development.
- John C. Daniels of Mulberry Grove and Robert C. Erickson of Minooka, national plowing champions, leave for Stockholm, Sweden, to represent the U.S. in the world plowing matches Oct. 7-8. Graeme Stewart of Plainfield, twice national champion, accompanies them as coach.
- William Rose of Kewanee wins his second consecutive state hand corn-husking championship at the contest near Pontiac.

OCTOBER

- Oct. 1 Under a new law allowing amateur radio operators to apply for special automobile licenses with their call letters 2,975 have done so.
- John L. Keeshin's newly organized Railroad Transfer Service takes over inter-depot transportation in Chicago from the Parmelee Transportation Company, which had handled the business for 102 years. Parmelee sues the railroads for \$8,500,000 allegedly due for service, and prevents Keeshin from obtaining city terminal vehicle licenses. Federal Judge Walter J. La Buy rules on Dec. 13 that Railway Transfer's operation without such licenses is illegal.
- Jesse Owens, former Olympic track star, resigns as secretary of the Illinois Athletic Commission to become co-ordinator of recreational activities for the Illinois Youth Commission. *Track and Field News* announces on Oct. 18 that its poll of experts has named Owens as the greatest track and field athlete of all time. Governor Stratton on Nov. 4 names Senator Peter J. Miller of Chicago to succeed Owens as secretary.

- Oct. 3 Governor Stratton is the principal speaker at the dedication of a new \$2,500,000 bridge over Lake Decatur on U.S. Route 36.
- Harry G. Newman, 56, marshal of the Illinois Supreme Court since 1943, dies. He is succeeded by Robert G. Miley of Galatia, who in turn is succeeded as director of the Division of Parks and Memorials by William R. Allen of Peoria.
- Oct. 5 A historical marker commemorating the invention of barbed wire and a new building for Northern Illinois State College are dedicated at DeKalb (see Winter 1955 *Journal*, pages 494-95).
- Oct. 6 Lieutenant Colonel Nelson Swift Morris, 63, grandson of the founder of Morris & Company and former chairman of its board, and veteran of both World Wars, dies in New York.
- Oct. 7 The Illinois State Historical Society begins its two-day 56th annual meeting in Galena (see Winter 1955 *Journal*, pages 480-82).
- Oct. 10 The University of Illinois cattle judging team wins first place at the International Dairy Show, Chicago, for the second consecutive year.
- Professor Herman D. Dorner, 77, founder of the floriculture department at the University of Illinois and its head until his retirement in 1946, dies. He was also one of the organizers of the Florists Telegraph Delivery Service.
- Oct. 11 An eighteen-member Russian delegation on a government-sponsored U.S. tour spends three days inspecting housing projects in Chicago.
- E. H. "Pop" Sohner, 77, former mayor of Moline, and since 1911 successively superintendent of plants of the Velie Motor Company, Farmall Tractor Works and Quad-City plants of the International Harvester Company, dies.
- Oct. 12 Columbus Hospital, Chicago, founded and named by America's only Roman Catholic saint—Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini—celebrates its 50th anniversary. Dr. Karl A. Meyer, chief surgeon; Dr. August F. Daro, head of the women's department; and Dr. Peter Rosi, staff surgeon, are awarded the Gold Seal of Solidarity of the Italian government by Consul General Piero Guadagnini.
- Oct. 13 Louis Florsheim, 81, son of the founder of the Florsheim Shoe Company and a director for over 30 years before his retirement in 1925, dies. The 99-year-old company has expanded from a single store to three factories (two in Chicago and one in Danville) with a nation-wide chain of retail outlets.
- Oct. 14 Illinois becomes the 39th state to join the American "tree farm system" of scientific forest growth. Lieutenant Governor Chapman

presents the owners of the 17 plots, ranging from 10 to 2,256 acres, with their certificates of membership at Sinnissippi forest, near Oregon. This, the largest of the plots, is owned by Mrs. C. Phillip Miller and Mrs. Albert F. Madlener, Jr., daughters of the late Governor Frank O. Lowden. The Illinois Forest Industries Committee and the Illinois Technical Forestry Association sponsor the program.

———— State agencies begin moving into the new State Office Building in Springfield. Open house is held Dec. 5 (see Winter 1955 *Journal*, pages 493-94).

Oct. 16 Professor Carl R. Moore, 62, chairman of the department of zoology of the University of Chicago and pioneer and international authority on sex biology, dies.

———— The Rev. John W. Martin, 76, bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church since 1924, dies in Chicago.

———— The *Manchester Pioneer*, first British ship ever to reach Chicago on a regular run, docks at Navy Pier. She leaves Oct. 19 with a cargo of lead, cheaper than it could be sent to New York and picked up.

Oct. 17 The Chicago & North Western Railway announces arrangements with Eastern railroads for through "piggy-back" service (truck trailers loaded on flatcars) from Omaha, St. Paul and Minneapolis to the Atlantic coast without unloading and reloading at Chicago. The Chicago & Eastern Illinois Railroad puts 50 improved cars into service on its "piggy-back" runs from Chicago to St. Louis and Evansville, Indiana.

Oct. 20 The American Society of Civil Engineers names the sewage-disposal system of the Metropolitan Sanitary District of Greater Chicago (formerly Chicago Sanitary District) as one of the "seven civil engineering wonders of the United States." The others are the Panama Canal, Colorado River Aqueduct, Empire State Building, San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, Grand Coulee and Hoover dams.

Oct. 21 John P. Devine, 77, state representative 1913-37, dies at his Dixon home. He was speaker of the House during his last term.

———— Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, 91, former president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association and leader in the fight for woman suffrage in Illinois, dies in Jacksonville, Florida.

Oct. 24 Chicago's present and past delegates to United Nations General Assemblies—Adlai E. Stevenson, Laird Bell, Mrs. Edith S. Sampson and the Rev. Archibald J. Carey, Jr.—are honored at a Chicago luncheon celebrating the United Nations' tenth anniversary.

- Oct. 26 General John McAuley Palmer II, 85, veteran of the Spanish-American War, the Boxer Rebellion and both World Wars, and author of several books, dies in Washington, D.C. The grandson of John McAuley Palmer I, Illinois general, governor and senator, John II was born in Carlinville and spent most of his boyhood in Springfield before entering West Point.
- Oct. 27 Clark Griffith, 85, veteran owner and former manager of the Washington Senators and cofounder (1901) of the American League, dies. He got his start in baseball with the Bloomington club of the Three-I League, and pitched for the old Chicago White Stockings of the National League (1893-1900) and for the White Sox during the first two seasons of the American League (1901-2) before turning to managing.
- Oct. 29 Dr. J. C. Westervelt, 100, of Shelbyville, honored by the American Medical Association as the oldest practicing physician in the U.S., dies. He was for years a member of the Illinois State Board of Health.
- Oct. 30 O'Hare International Airport, near Park Ridge, begins commercial operation after special ceremonies the preceding day. The largest airport in the world in area, it will gradually take over more and more flights. Financially it will be self-sustaining.
- Mrs. Mamie White Colvin, 75, former Evanstonian and national president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union 1944-53, dies in Clearwater, Florida.
- Oct. 31 International Harvester Company has its first billion-dollar sales year in the fiscal year ending today. Its net income is \$55,501,000—up 52.9 per cent over the previous year.

NOVEMBER

- Nov. 2 Work begins on the widening of the Calumet-Sag channel, the chief connection between Lake Michigan and the Illinois Deep Waterway.
- Dr. Vincent du Vigneaud, 54, native Chicagoan now with Cornell Medical College, New York City, is awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry for his work in hormone analysis and synthesis. The Chicago section of the American Chemical Society also awards him its highest honor, the Willard Gibbs medal, to be presented in May, 1956.
- Dr. Julius H. Hess, 79, internationally famous Chicago pediatrician, dies. He was head of the pediatrics department at the University of Illinois 1914-44 and since professor emeritus; president

- of the Chicago Medical Society 1935-36; recipient in 1952 of the Borden Award of the American Academy of Pediatrics; and adviser to the U.S. Children's Bureau, the Illinois Public Welfare Commission and Illinois State Council of Defense (World War II).
- Nov. 4 August Vollmer, 79, "father of modern police science," commits suicide in Berkeley, California. He organized the University of Chicago's police administration division in 1929 and headed it until 1931.
- Nov. 8 Chicago's Central Manufacturing District begins a three-day pageant of industrial progress in the International Amphitheater in celebration of its 50th anniversary.
- Circuit Judge DeWitt S. Crow, in Springfield, upholds the constitutionality of the Chicago exposition hall bill.
- Nov. 10 Adelaide Johnson, 108, sculptress born in Plymouth, Illinois, dies. Some of her statues are in National Statuary Hall in Washington. She saw Lincoln during her youth.
- Joseph G. Kohout, 48, of Chicago, state representative since 1949 and president of the central division of the Horsemen's Benevolent Protective Association, dies in Tucson, Arizona.
- A three-day international conference on the progress of social science during the past 25 years begins today at the Social Science Research Building at the University of Chicago. The conference celebrates the 25th anniversary of the building, first for such a purpose in the United States.
- Nov. 12 The parimutuel wager total during the 294 days of thoroughbred horse racing at Illinois' seven tracks, closing today, sets an all-time record of \$204,991,019. Attendance was 2,944,380—76,531 less than in the 1954 season which was four days longer.
- Bindley C. Cyrus, Chicago attorney, founder of the American West Indian Association and until recently a member of the Caribbean Commission working for Anglo-American co-operation in improving conditions in the British West Indies, is the first American Negro to receive the Order of the British Empire. The presentation is made at Washington by Ambassador Sir Roger Makin.
- Nov. 13 Martin P. Durkin, 61, of Chicago, Illinois director of labor 1933-41 and President Eisenhower's first secretary of labor, dies in Washington. He had been president of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry (AFL) since 1943.
- C. Floyd Easterday, 85, state representative 1935-39 and Fayette County superintendent of schools 1898-1910, dies in Vandalia.

- Dr. Howard R. Bowen, former dean of the University of Illinois College of Commerce, is inaugurated as the seventh president of 109-year-old Grinnell (Iowa) College.
- Nov. 14 Robert E. Sherwood, 59, whose Pulitzer Prize play *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* has played to over 200,000 people at New Salem during the past ten summers, dies in New York. He also won Pulitzer Prizes for the plays *Idiot's Delight* and *There Shall Be No Night*, and for the biography *Roosevelt and Hopkins*.
- Lloyd E. Davis, 56, of Morrisonville, completing his first term as state senator, dies in Springfield.
- Nov. 15 Former Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic presidential nominee in 1952, formally announces that he will again seek the nomination in 1956. James P. Finnegan resigns as secretary of state of Pennsylvania to become Stevenson's campaign manager.
- Nov. 16 The first radar-controlled traffic lights ever installed anywhere go into operation on La Salle Street, Chicago.
- Nov. 18 The Institute for Nuclear Studies of the University of Chicago is officially renamed the Enrico Fermi Institute for Nuclear Studies. Nobel Prize winner Fermi was connected with the Institute from its beginning in 1945 until his death in 1954.
- Nov. 21 Malcolm J. Proudfoot, 48, associate professor of geography at Northwestern University, dies at Oxford, England. An international authority on population migrations, he had been decorated by the U.S. and foreign governments for his work with displaced persons.
- Dr. John A. Wolfer, 74, professor emeritus of surgery at Northwestern University, dies in Banning, California. He headed Northwestern's tumor clinic until his retirement and was honored by the American Cancer Society, Illinois division, in 1950 for outstanding work in cancer control.
- Nov. 22 Dr. Isaac A. Abt, 87, the dominant figure in American pediatrics for over fifty years and professor emeritus of pediatrics at Northwestern University, dies. He pioneered such now standard practices as pasteurization of milk, diphtheria antitoxin and incubators for premature babies.
- Nov. 25 Hugh W. Cross of Jerseyville, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, resigns. He was appointed to the Commission in 1949 after serving eight years as Illinois' lieutenant governor.
- Control of National Tea Company of Chicago, which does over \$500,000,000 business annually in its retail grocery chain, is acquired by a Canadian syndicate headed by W. Garfield Weston of Toronto, who already controls over 300 food stores.

- Nov.26 The 56th annual International Livestock Exposition opens its eight-day run at the International Amphitheater in Chicago. "Julius," a steer owned by 16-year-old Nancy Turner of Champaign County, is chosen grand champion. Nancy and "Julius" are honored Dec. 8 on a special "Nancy Turner Day" by Champaign, Urbana and the University of Illinois, and tour state colleges of agriculture across the country. H. L. Stiegelmeier of Normal is soybean "king," as he was in 1946, 1947 and 1950. Illinois is well represented in national 4-H Club awards by Loren Boppart, Woodstock; Phil Jones, Richview; Larry Lewis, Ursa; Mary Ann Mattingly, Paris; Eldon Rebhorn, Oswego; and Eugene Schick, Elgin. Illinois scholarships out of the total of 70 donated by the Santa Fe Railroad go to Mary Lu Arntzen, Macomb; Robert S. Marshall, Cuba; Ralph A. Pool, Eureka; and Eleanor Yordy, Morton. L. E. Mathers, Sr. and Jr., of Mason County, take almost every first place in Shorthorns.
- Nov.27 Burr McCloskey, executive secretary of the American Rally, Chicago, which describes itself as "a non-partisan educational association," is chosen vice-presidential candidate of the new Pioneer Party, sponsored by American Rally, at its Milwaukee convention. Senator William Langer of North Dakota heads the party's 1956 ticket.
- Nov.28 The temperature in Chicago dives to 3 degrees above zero, the coldest for November since 1887. Freeport and Waukegan have zero readings.
- Nov.29 Timothy J. Sullivan, 77, Springfield Democratic leader and state representative 1927-33 and 1941-55, dies. During the intervening eight years he was assistant attorney general.
- Nov.30 The Executive Mansion at Springfield enters its second century of occupancy by the state's governor (see Autumn 1955 *Journal*, pages 330-37).
- It is announced that a "centrifilmer" which makes possible more effective sterilization of viruses in blood plasma, serums and vaccines has been developed by Michael Reese [Hospital] Research Foundation Center of Chicago.
- During November Chicago suffered a dustfall of 71.3 tons per square mile, the heaviest of the year. Nevertheless 1955 as a whole had the lowest dustfall on record—an average of 52.8 tons a month.
- New construction plans announced in the Chicago area in November (headed by Inland Steel's \$200,000,000) reach an all-time record for one month, \$240,929,000, and are instrumental in setting the new yearly record of \$554,967,000.

DECEMBER

- Dec. 1 The University of Illinois FM broadcasting station WILL-FM, the first educational FM station in the country (1941), now becomes also the most powerful as it increases its output to 300 kilowatts.
- Dec. 2 The Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor merge into a single organization to be known as AFL-CIO. Willard S. Townsend of Chicago, president of the CIO's United Transport Service Employees ("redcaps"), becomes a vice-president of the combined group—a position not reached by a Negro in either the AFL or the CIO.
- Dec. 4 Arthur R. Hall, 86, Vermilion County probate judge until 1954, dies at Danville. A former University of Illinois football player (1896-1900) and coach in the early 1900's, he was in the Illinois Athletic Hall of Fame.
- Illinois Superintendent of Public Instruction Vernon L. Nickell is named president of the National Council of Chief State School Officers at the organization's convention at Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Dec. 7 The extension (from 2,800 to 3,945 feet) of the runway at Meigs Field, Chicago's downtown air terminal on Northerly Island, is opened, enabling heavier and faster planes to land and take off. Landings and takeoffs at Meigs in 1955 numbered 56,178—a 20 per cent increase over 1954.
- Dec. 8 The new Prudential Insurance Building in Chicago—the city's tallest skyscraper, built on air rights over the Illinois Central tracks—is dedicated. Chicago's first new street in ten years—Stetson Avenue—extends along the east side of the building.
- Dec. 9 A priceless collection of Jewish ceremonial and antiquarian objects donated by Mr. and Mrs. Max M. Korshak to the North Shore Congregation Israel of Glencoe is dedicated as a temple museum.
- Dec. 10 Herman J. Haenisch, 71, state senator 1923-31, dies in Chicago.
- Dec. 11 George "Papa Bear" Halas retires after 36 years of coaching his professional football team—1920-21 as the Decatur Staleys and 1922-55 as the Chicago Bears. Halas remains owner and president.
- Dec. 12 The Ford Foundation donates \$500,000,000—the largest single philanthropic gift in history—to the nation's non-tax-supported colleges, hospitals and medical schools. Thirty-three Illinois colleges and universities share \$13,516,000 in amounts ranging from \$52,100 to Northwestern University's \$1,958,200 and the University of Chicago's \$4,324,000. Allotments of \$10,000 to \$250,000 are made to 209 Illinois hospitals for a total of \$14,522,700. Medical school allotments, and the size of the gift to the Chicago Art Insti-

tute, are not announced. James B. Black of San Francisco, a native of Sycamore, Illinois, is appointed to the Foundation's board of trustees on Dec. 18.

- Chicago's highest budget in history—\$562,462,214.50—is unanimously approved by the City Council. It provides for additional city employees, including 1,200 more policemen and 633 more firemen, and pay raises for all city employees. It includes large appropriations for work on the Calumet Skyway and new water tunnels.
- Adlai E. Stevenson receives an award "for his contributions to the furtherance of the constitutional principles of freedom and equality" from the American Jewish Congress in the Morrison Hotel, Chicago.
- Dec. 13 The 70-year-old Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America announces that more than half of the \$1,750,000 it has raised will be used to expand the denomination's North Park College, Chicago, from a two-year to a four-year school.
- Dec. 14 President Luis Batlle Berres of Uruguay and his family arrive in Chicago for a planned three-day visit. Taken ill at a banquet that evening, however, President Batlle is removed to a hospital with a "bleeding ulcer" and does not leave the city until Dec. 23.
- Chairman Edward L. Ryerson of the board of trustees of the University of Chicago announces that its campaign for funds has so far netted \$8,540,000. Other gifts to the University announced during December total \$21,874,000 besides scholarships valued at \$22,400 per year. The Ford Foundation on Jan. 17, 1956 grants another \$1,275,000 to the University's law school.
- Dec. 15 Another four and one-half miles of Chicago's Congress Street Expressway—from Ashland to Laramie avenues—is opened to traffic. Though it does not connect with the two and one-half miles opened Dec. 31, 1954, an estimated 90,000 cars use it daily.
- Basil L. Walters, executive editor of the *Chicago Daily News* and other Knight newspapers, is chosen as the recipient of the University of Arizona's second annual John Peter Zenger Award.
- Dec. 16 The University of Chicago's most distinguished award, the Rosenberger medal, is presented to Marshal Field III.
- Congressman Barratt O'Hara of Chicago, the only Spanish-American War veteran in Congress, receives the Cuban Order of Military Merit with Distinction from President Fulgencio Batista in ceremonies at Havana, followed by a special session of the Cuban House of Representatives to honor O'Hara. This Order has never before been awarded to a civilian.

- Dec. 20 The State-Federal Crop Reporting Service and the U.S. and Illinois Agriculture Departments announce figures on the state's 1955 crops. Illinois' corn production (524,000,000 bushels) leads the nation, topping the second state, Iowa, by 29,000,000 bushels; it is Illinois' second highest in history. The 1955 soybean crop (101,000,000 bushels) is a new state and national record. New per-acre highs are set in winter wheat (32.5 bushels), oats (56 bushels) and hay (1.96 tons). Winter wheat produces the second highest yield since 1923 (51,000,000 bushels, 51 per cent over average); oats, the highest since 1918 (177,000,000 bushels); and hay, 13 per cent above average (4,600,000 tons). The total value of Illinois field crops is \$1,196,000,000, exceeding 1954 by \$2,000,000. The raising of 11,200,000 pigs for market from Dec. 1, 1954 to Nov. 30, 1955 is also an all-time record.
- Joliet and Bloomington are among eleven cities in the U.S. selected as "All-American Cities" by the National Municipal League and *Look* magazine. Joliet is cited for improving schools and city government and developing a community youth program; Bloomington, for modernizing obsolete city facilities. Elmwood Park receives honorable mention.
- During the 24 hours ending at 7 a.m. today Chicagoans use 500,000,000 cubic feet of gas—10,000,000 over the record set Jan. 26, 1955.
- Charles M. Moderwell, 87, former president of his own coal company, the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, the Union League Club and the Chicago Board of Education, dies in Evanston. He was regional director of the Public Works Administration 1933-34.
- Dec. 21 The Illinois Commerce Commission, following recent decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court and the Interstate Commerce Commission, orders an end to racial segregation on Illinois railroads and busses as of Jan. 10, 1956.
- Dec. 23 John Gabel, 83, of Glencoe, founder of the John Gabel Manufacturing Company of Chicago, manufacturers of the world's first juke boxes, dies in Elgin. The company, founded as the Automatic Machine & Tool Company in 1898, produced the first coin-operated phonographs in 1906 and won gold medals for them at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915.
- The Illinois Bell Telephone Company begins construction of an experimental super-speed electronic exchange in Morris. The first in the country, it is expected to go into service about 1958.
- Dec. 26 Chicago has the worst record of any large city over the three-day Christmas week-end with 14 traffic fatalities. Illinois with 40

ranks third, behind Texas and California. National Guardsmen are mobilized to aid state and city police in patrolling streets and roads over the New Year's week-end, resulting in only one death in Chicago (the best record among large cities) and 13 in the state.

- The Wabash Railroad freighthouse at Chicago suffers \$1,000,000 damage by fire.
- Dec. 27 The Illinois Education Association and the Modern Language Association begin three-day sessions in Chicago. The University of Illinois' recent decision to drop its remedial Rhetoric 100 course in 1960 and flunk out all freshmen unable to carry college-level English courses has touched off a barrage of criticism of elementary and secondary schools for teaching too many "frills" and neglecting the "three R's."
- Siloam Springs State Park becomes the state's largest with the addition of 240 acres in Adams and Brown counties.
- Dec. 28 Mrs. Dwight F. Davis, 68, a native of Chicago, dies in Washington. She was the granddaughter of J. Sterling Morton, U.S. senator and secretary of agriculture; daughter of Paul Morton, secretary of the Navy; and widow of Dwight F. Davis, secretary of war, governor general of the Philippines and donor of the Davis Cup emblematic of international tennis championships. Mrs. Davis was long nationally prominent in political and civic affairs.
- Dec. 30 Governor Stratton announces the membership of the new state atomic power investigation committee: Senator George E. Drach, Springfield; Senator Glen O. Jones, Harrisburg; Milton H. Kronenberg, Peoria; Holdon Leedy, Western Springs; and Representatives Harry D. Lavery, Henry C. Nickel, Titus Le Clair, Joseph D. Keenan, Jr., James S. Quinlan, Samuel Smith, J. Robert Downing and Robert J. Hasterlik, Chicago. Drs. Roland R. Cross and Otto L. Bettag, directors of the departments of Public Health and Public Welfare, and General Robert M. Woodward, state civil defense director, are ex-officio members of the committee.
- Dec. 31 Mining accidents were at an all-time low in Illinois in 1955 (17 fatal and 892 non-fatal through Nov. 30). There were no fatal accidents in July or October; in only one other month (August, 1954) in Illinois mining history has this been true.
- Director Roy F. Cummins of the Illinois Department of Labor announces that the average pay check of \$85.34 per week and total personal income of over \$20,000,000,000 are new all-time highs for Illinois. The state has 3,400,000 employed in non-agricultural jobs, only a few thousand under the all-time record,

and unemployment decreased from 249,000 to 100,000 during the year.

Forty-two more miles of U.S. Route 66 have been four-laned during 1955.

The Illinois State Museum announces that during the year the jawbone of a mastodon (*Mammut americanus*) was unearthed on the farm of Merle Wikoff near Roberts. This is considered one of the most important archeozoological finds ever made in Illinois.

November and December have been the driest months since the beginning of the state's weather records in 1879. However, the rainfall from January through October was slightly over normal, breaking the back of the three-year drought. The total rainfall for the year was 34.15 inches—2.5 inches below normal. Over 700 cities received permits to begin water supply projects.

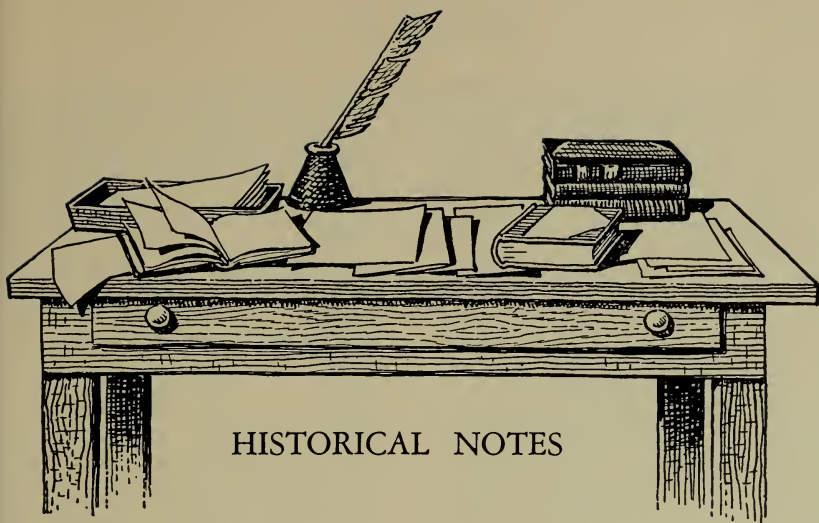
Illinois revenue is the largest in history, Director Richard J. Lyons announces. Part of the increase is due to the new use tax and the increase of the sales tax. Figures for 1955 (with those of 1954 in parentheses) are: sales tax, \$235,717,894 (\$200,978,311); motor fuel tax, \$143,682,019 (\$136,559,912); cigarette tax, \$31,473,971 (\$30,581,645); public utility tax, \$30,932,592 (\$28,678,929); liquor tax, \$24,839,687 (\$23,573,245); use tax, \$2,733,542 (none); petroleum inspection fees, \$936,272 (\$884,463); private car line tax, \$566,497 (\$530,459); coin operated amusement device tax, \$385,500 (\$408,357); total, \$471,367,974 (\$422,194,424).

Secretary of State Charles F. Carpentier announces that 6,658 drivers' licenses were revoked and 1,220 suspended during the year. Through the central control file dangerous drivers are now often detected before they are involved in serious accidents. Nevertheless the 1955 total of 2,195 deaths resulting from traffic accidents is the highest since 1941. Motor vehicle registration is also at an all-time high, having exceeded 1954's record by Sept. 30.

Among prominent Chicago businesses celebrating centennial years in 1955 are Baird & Warner, real estate; the Crane Company, plumbing fixtures; Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Company, investments; and Mandel Brothers, department store. Chicago's famous Maxwell Street "bazaar," under the sponsorship of the Near West Side Businessmen's Association, celebrated its centennial from Thanksgiving to Christmas. The state's free school system entered its second century on Feb. 15, aeronautics on July 4 and the State Horticultural Society on Nov. 28.

ILLINOIS CITY AND TOWN CENTENNIALS, 1955

Aledo, June 30-July 4; Arcola, July 7-9; Bement, July 31-Aug. 6; Brookport, May 27-30; Camp Point area (Camp Point, Coatsburg and La Prairie), July 1-4; Cerro Gordo, July 22-24; Clay City, Sept. 30-Oct. 1; Elkhart, July 29-30; Frankfort, Aug. 11-14; Gays, Oct. 23; Gilman, Aug. 11-14; Girard, June 17-18; Grayville, Sept. 3-5; Homer, May 27-30; Lexington, July 11-16; Matteson, July 16-24; Mattoon, Sept. 4-10; Morrison, May 29-June 4; Neponset, Aug. 5-7; New Baden, June 24-26; Palatine, July 5-10; Palmyra, July 23-24; Rutland, Aug. 4-7; Sparland, July 22-23; Trenton, July 1-3.



HISTORICAL NOTES

CHILDHOOD REMINISCENCES OF PRINCETON

Mrs. Jerusha Whitmarsh Clark wrote these reminiscences of her early days in Princeton, Illinois in 1926 when she was eighty-six years old—two years before her death. They deal chiefly with her childhood in the 1850's, before her marriage to Atherton Clark on December 13, 1865. Entering the Union service in the Civil War as a private, Clark rose to the rank of major. He later served two terms as sheriff of Bureau County. Mrs. Clark's recollections were intended for the members of her family, but she mentions familiar names such as those of the Bryant and Lovejoy families. The manuscript was supplied to the Journal by her daughter Herma Clark, who writes the feature "When Chicago Was Young" in the Chicago Sunday Tribune.

My father, Alvah Whitmarsh, was born in Cummington, Massachusetts, August 15, 1796. He came of English stock, his first ancestor in this country having been John Whitmarsh who sailed from Weymouth, England, for America March 20, 1635 in the Rev. Joseph Hull's company. . . . The Whitmarsh family had a strong religious strain and we have in our family a beautiful prayer written by my father—in 1819, I think—dedicating himself to God and imploring God's mercy on himself, his family and his unconverted friends.

He was twice married. His first wife was Lydia Clark, and by her he had four children: Thomas Cranmer, Lewis Clark, Mary Anne, and Lydia Clark. His first wife died December 23, 1828 and a year later he married

her sister, my mother, Naomi Matilda Clark. She was born in Easthampton, Massachusetts, November 12, 1801. Her mother died when she was a baby and she was taken by a family named Coleman, but her last name was not changed; they added the middle name Matilda, however. My mother had a fine mind and came of a literary family, her half-brothers Willis Gaylord Clark and Lewis Gaylord Clark (twins) having been well-known literary men and friends of Washington Irving. We have in our possession a book called *Ollapodiana*, consisting of reprints from early nineteenth-century Philadelphia and New York newspapers written by Lewis Gaylord Clark, who was also editor of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*.

My father and mother after their marriage lived in Springfield, Massachusetts, where my father was an architect and builder. Their five oldest children were born in that city. He then moved to Brooklyn, New York, where he stayed for a time, and here my brother Alvah Mason Whitmarsh was born. Next he went to Cold Spring, New York, and I was born there in 1840. When I was about a year and a half old, Father and Mother moved to Princeton, Illinois, several of their Springfield (Massachusetts) friends having preceded them there in a company known as the Hampshire Colony, all Congregationalists. My brother Horace, the youngest of the family, was born here.

My brother Thomas remained in Springfield to finish his apprenticeship to Mr. Merriam, George or his brother Charles, printers who compiled a dictionary well known at that time. When Thomas came west he stopped in Chicago and got a position with Rand McNally and Company, where he remained forty years as head proofreader. He married Juliet Fulton of Chicago and had a home in Hyde Park. He was a deacon in Plymouth Congregational Church of Chicago for many years. His two sons, Will L. and Charles Fulton, followed in his footsteps in the printing trade, and were both associated with Rand McNally for some time—later with other printing offices.

On coming to Princeton, we lived for three years in a rented house near where the high school now stands, a little to the northwest of Andrew Swanzy's house. At the end of three years, Father built a house for himself at the southeast corner of what is now Church Street and Park Avenue.

This house has always been very dear to me, as I spent my childhood and young womanhood in it, was married there and our eldest child was born there. After my mother's death, my son Hubert, who was married about that time, bought the place, altered it and lived there for twelve years. The house was then moved off the lot where it had stood for so many years to make way for the brick residence built by my son, which is now standing there.



MAJOR ATHERTON CLARK



MRS. JERUSHA B. CLARK

Both of these pictures are thought to have been made in the early 1860's. In his erotype Major Clark's uniform has the stripes of a sergeant major on the sleeves. Clark's picture is from a tintype.

The old house (the one built by my father) is still standing on Euclid Avenue near the Lincoln School, and is quite habitable, showing how well built it was. It was really very pretty in design. It had a pointed roof, so that the second-floor rooms were not full height as to ceiling.

Facing the west was the parlor, with windows on three sides. The staircase went up just back of this room. Back of this staircase and hall was the dining room. On the north was Father's and Mother's bedroom.

To the south two small rooms opened off the dining room. One of these rooms was used by Father as his office. His secretary desk stood on one side, and on the top of it stood Father's big Bible and one for each of the children, in which we all read each morning at family worship. Father used to bring them out each morning and take them back. On the other side of this small room stood his heavy black drawing table. The top of this table was an inch and a half thick and there was a deep drawer, with glass handles. Two windows, one to the west and one to the south, were in this room.

The other small room had only one window, but it had a closet. The north room, Father's and Mother's, had a very large clothes closet and two cupboards above the fireplace. There were three windows in that room. . . . There were two entries in the front of the house, one opening from the north, one from the west. Upstairs there were three bedrooms, one having a fireplace in it. Our house was comfortable, but was heated only by fireplaces, of which we had five.

For some years we cooked by the fireplace in the dining room. We baked biscuits in a tin, called a reflector, in front of the fire; or over hot coals, in an iron "spider" with long legs, covered with an iron cover; and sometimes we put hot coals on that, to make it bake faster. We put potatoes to bake in the ashes on the hearth, and they were fine. There was a brick oven to the right of the fireplace and here we used to bake bread and pies. This oven would hold five loaves of bread and three pies at one time.

I used to bake pancakes on a large griddle hung on the crane over the fire. Sometimes this fireplace would smoke if the wind was in a certain direction, and we would have to go into the parlor to save our eyes.

In after years we had a kitchen added on to the east with a fireplace, and when I was twelve years old we got a stove. We had a toasting iron, which held two large slices of bread and could be turned about to toast both sides. This was used at the fireplace. It worked fine.

Father made a good deal of our furniture. One of the pieces was a round dining room table of cherry wood, set on a heavy stand; it had a drawer in it in which we kept tablecloths. The top was fastened to the lower part with large wooden pins. When the meal was over the pins acted as hinges, so the round top could be lifted and pushed against the wall to save room, and serve as a chair. We have used it in the family for many years, but as it cannot be extended it could not be used to seat more than eight people and in later years an extension table has taken its place. Six of our chairs were bought; these were cane seated.

When I was a small child I used to hunt flowers and sorrel on the common in front of the house, the sorrel being very good to eat, I thought. This common extended to the courthouse. Father set out maple trees in front of the house and many fine apple trees in the back. The garden was large, with a circle of grass in the middle and a path all around the circle. There were currant and gooseberry bushes around the path in the garden and we had a nice strawberry patch, too. We had two rows of peach trees, one on the east, the other on the west border of our land, and for many years had an excellent crop of peaches.

The lot being large, we raised a good deal of corn; I used to play in it, and sometimes had trouble finding my way out of it. When the corn was

cut and stacked in shocks, we children used to hide in them and play we were Indians in our wigwams. Our lot extended to what is now the Har-rauff property next to the Presbyterian Church on the east, and included two more lots than at present on the south.

In this house, when we first entered it, there was a family of nine, the parents and seven children. Sister Mary, the eldest at home, was like a second mother to me. She looked very lovely, I thought, with her curly red hair parted in the middle and arranged in three curls on each side. She had a very sweet temper and nothing seemed to disturb her. She was gifted in many ways and learned easily. After attending school in Princeton, she and Lydia went to Chicago for further education—an arrangement made by Brother Thomas, who was anxious for his sisters to have advantages they could not get in Princeton. They attended private school, each one working in a private family for her board. While she was there, Mary wrote a poem for my prize album, beginning:

Your wishes, dear sister, shall surely be granted,
That Mary shall find in your album a place;
But words are least fluent, when most they are wanted,
A token of love on these pages to trace.

Mary taught school in the old log cabin which used to stand on South Main Street. This was known as the John Howard Bryant cabin, and was later taken down log by log and set up in the fairgrounds as a relic of old times. Mary also taught one spring term in the Bacon neighborhood. She was not married until she was thirty, when she became the wife of George Sisler, a farmer living west of town. He had a family of five children, and he and my sister Mary had eight more children. So she had a hard and busy life, but she was a kind and loving mother to them all. . . .

Lewis was our elder brother, patient and loving. His disposition was as lovely as Sister Mary's. He also resembled her in person; his hair was curly like hers, and the same color. His life was in many ways a hard one. On his trip to California, of which I shall speak later, he contracted a serious trouble with his eyes and at times could not use them for working or reading. He married Julia Winship, to whom he was engaged before leaving home, built a house near ours and lived there several years. Four children were born to them in Princeton. After a time, in order to be near an oculist, he moved to Chicago. While his children were still young he moved to Texas, hoping the change of climate would benefit his health. This seems to have been a turning point in the family fortunes. The death of an only daughter was a sad event, but aside from this they prospered in their new home. Their three boys entered lumber firms, all became inde-

pendent financially and were able to help their parents. Through all his physical and financial troubles he kept his strong faith and cheerful spirit. I have a beautiful memory of him.

Lydia, youngest of the children of my father's first wife, is rather a vague memory in my mind because she went to Michigan at an early age and remained there until she was grown, marrying Lucius Warner, a farmer who lived near Adrian. They had two sons, Will and Fred. One thing I do remember of her is that she made me a doll, the only one I ever had, as Mother did not believe in such playthings.

Brother Sam, eldest of my mother's own children, was a lover of good reading, and was quite gifted with his pen. He used to read aloud the chapters of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* when it appeared in serial form in *The National Era*. How eager we were for the paper to arrive each week, to learn the fortunes of Uncle Tom! Sam attended Mr. Lamberson's school, which stood on the present site of the courthouse, and I think all the boys were pupils of James Smith, who later had an academy opposite the Presbyterian Church on what is now Euclid Avenue.

Until he went to California Sam worked with Father learning the carpenter's trade, as did Mason. I think Sam had a great many friends. I know our young people used to have a great deal of company and much fun, but I was so young I had to go to bed at eight o'clock. I would tease them to leave the door open so I could hear them laugh. But this they did not want to do since I slept then in the south bedroom, and it was so very cold. Alfred Church, son of the Presbyterian minister, was Sam's best friend, and was often at our house. He and Sam used to read Dickens and often called one another by the names of Dickens' characters.

Sam wrote a good deal for trade papers throughout his life, but I do not believe he ever made a great deal of money from this. After his death the *Michigan Tradesman*, for which he wrote regularly for many years, said of him: "All his work bore the impress of deep thought and careful consideration, nothing being done hastily, and no statement bordering on harshness or malice was allowed to creep into his work."

Mason, five years younger than Sam, was born to be an artist. He attended Mr. Church's school on Main Street, and as Mrs. Church had some artistic ability he took drawing lessons from her. I still have a portfolio of some of his pencil drawings. These drawings illustrate his career as a teacher and tell of his adventures in District Number 3, Walnut Township, Bureau County, which he describes as in the swamps. His notations at the bottom of the drawings are quite humorous and suggest present-day cartoons. He was probably the most gifted of my brothers. He enlisted in the army during the Civil War and died after serving a year, leaving a young widow,

who later married Brother Sam. Mason left no children, but Sam and Mary (Steele) Whitmarsh had one child, Rollin, who died in early manhood. Mason did some oil and watercolor paintings; one of the family tree was very interesting—we still have it.

My brother Horace, youngest of the family, did not take kindly to books. Owing to an injury to his knee when he was a very small boy, he was greatly indulged and never studied much. He took up the trade of harnessmaking. Horace died in middle life. His one daughter Minnie (Mrs. Frank Smith) died at an early age.

We lived comfortably in this house, our life made up of work and play, like all children in a new country. . . . And there was always plenty to eat. We used to kill one or two hogs each fall, and I can remember how afraid I was of the man who did the deed. He had a large knife, and I ran up to the garret and hid behind the chimney when he came. When I ventured down (or was brought down, I don't remember which) he said: "Why! Did you think I would hurt little girls?"

The dead hogs, hung up in the cellar, were . . . frightful objects. I would not venture to the bottom of the stairs to look at them. But I liked to see Mother take the lard out, and it was interesting to watch the lean part being chopped up into sausage meat. The boys did that, using large wooden bowls. How we did enjoy that sausage with buckwheat cakes on cold winter mornings!

We made our own soap, so had a "leach" to put ashes in to get lye. We made our own candles, too, and I've run many a dozen myself when I was a girl. We kept them in a pine box Father made, which stood at the middle of the cellar stairs.

When Father built on the kitchen he also put in a bathroom, with a wooden tub and a shower bath. I think it quite likely that this was the first bathroom in Princeton, though I am not sure. I can remember how afraid I was the first time my sister coaxed me to get in and pull the string and let the water down on my head.

When I was ten years old, Father, Mother, Brother Horace and I went to Chicago to visit Brother Thomas. We drove twenty miles to Peru, and from there took the canalboat *Red Bird*. It was a wonderful journey for us! Father and Horace went home before Mother and I did. Father had bought Horace a small axe in the city, and after he reached home he cut his knee very badly with the new present. Horace was in bed for six weeks and had a stiff knee for life.

Another great adventure had been our visit in Michigan the year before. Father had two brothers there and two sisters in Ohio, and it was resolved that the whole family should go to Michigan for a visit. It was a great

undertaking at that time. Father had a wagon such as movers used to have, except that the cover was black instead of white. Inside this wagon were Father and Mother and seven children; the wagon was drawn by a horse and a mare. It took us ten days to reach our destination. We stayed over a month—not all in one place and not all together; we had so many cousins, we visited each of them, too.

Some of the roads over which we traveled were good, but I remember several "corduroy roads," made of whole logs, laid over marshlands. Then only two people would stay in the wagon—one to drive, the other to try to keep the contents of the wagon from falling out.

I remember a good deal about this visit. We took in the wagon a pine box holding about a bushel. Father had made it especially for the trip. In this box (which we still have in the family) we took food—cookies, cheese and homemade crackers. It served also as the driver's seat (Sam drove most of the time). At night we stopped at farmhouses along the way, or at some tavern. I can realize now how much it meant to Father to see his relatives, and I have always been glad I learned to know Father's family. I found a young cousin, Clara Whitmarsh, a year older than I, to whom I became much attached. I wanted to stay with her all the time, and to visit no one else.

Father and Mother went to Cleveland to visit his sisters, but we children remained in Michigan. Coming home, our party was lessened by two, for Lydia remained in Michigan and later married there, and Sam, who was then about eighteen years old, found work in Michigan and stayed there for some time.

Father was a very quiet man. He always conducted family worship morning and evening and asked the blessing at table. In the morning we each had a Bible and read around the circle in order, two verses apiece until we finished a chapter. Then Father prayed and we sang a hymn. In the evening, Father alone read and prayed. Sometimes I was so tired I used to fall asleep and was only awakened by his "Amen." And Father always wanted a song; I've always been glad of that practice. . . . Every night before going to bed Father went into his office, locked the door, and we could hear his voice in private prayer. . . .

Father never talked to me about religion. When one day the minister spoke to me about being a Christian, I said I thought folks didn't care about my joining the church. I was astonished to hear him say: "Your father cares. He has spoken about you in prayer meeting." I was touched, but thought Father should have shown his love for me by talking to me himself.

Of course, the church was the center of social life in those days. My father and mother originally belonged to the Congregational Church, but later

transferred their membership to the Presbyterian Church and my earliest memories are of attendance at this church. One of the first ministers I can remember is Aaron B. Church, as homely a man as President Lincoln. He was very good, but quite queer, and he made us laugh when he pulled off his glasses and rolled his eyes. He was also county superintendent of schools, and in this capacity used to visit schools. One day he came into ours and, O, horrors! sat down beside me. When he took a book and chose a word for me to spell, I was so frightened I could not think. The word was "profit" and I was so ashamed that I spelled it wrong—neither "profit" nor "prophet"—that I never forgot how to spell it afterwards. His wife was my first Sunday school teacher—a good teacher as well as a beautiful lady. Our next minister used to talk to the children once a month, and I enjoyed him. He almost cried himself, and made us cry.

One day I did not go to Sunday school for some reason, but went after meeting in the afternoon to get a library book from the closet in the corner of the church. While I was choosing, the outer door closed and I ran, only to find myself locked in. I tell you I made a noise, pounding and crying, so that the last one out heard me and opened the door to a much frightened little girl. Years afterward my daughter Herma wrote a children's story for a religious weekly paper about this experience. It appeared under the title "When Grandma Was Locked In."

Among the members of the Presbyterian Church I remember as a child was a Mr. (or Colonel) Robinson, who lived east of town. He was a deacon and looked very stately coming down the aisle to the front pew, where he always sat. Deacon Bryant sat just back of him; then came my father, in the third pew. Next came the pew of Henry Bacon. He used to read a printed sermon if the minister was absent at any time. I liked to have him read; he read fast while Deacon Bryant read very slowly. I think now I should like to hear the latter better.

Henry, Porter and Amos Bacon, brothers, all lived north of town in a community known as Presbyterian Hill. Amos Bacon sang in the Presbyterian choir. He often fell asleep and Brother Mason once drew a picture of him as he slept. These brothers, and also the Bryants, some of whom were Congregationalists, who lived in fine brick houses south of town, used to come regularly with their wives to Wednesday afternoon prayer meetings. Of course, there was time afterward to exchange their produce for needful things. The three Bryants were excellent farmers and their orchards were noted, then as now, for fine fruit and their gardens for flowers. I can remember when Arthur Bryant's fine brick house burned to the ground and how we all helped them.

Our family were all members of the choir. Brother Sam played the

violin and Lewis the bass viol; later I played the organ for three years. Arthur Bryant, my father and others took turns in leading the choir. Mother was an excellent singer and many a beautiful "sing" they used to have at our house, sitting around the round table.

Our family attended church faithfully, hearing sermons before and after Sunday school each Sunday. Some people brought lunch to eat between services. The church was warmed with a large wood stove. I used to go and warm my feet at the stove during the sermon; this also relieved the monotony for a small girl. Some women brought small hand stoves with coals in them, to put their feet on in cold weather.

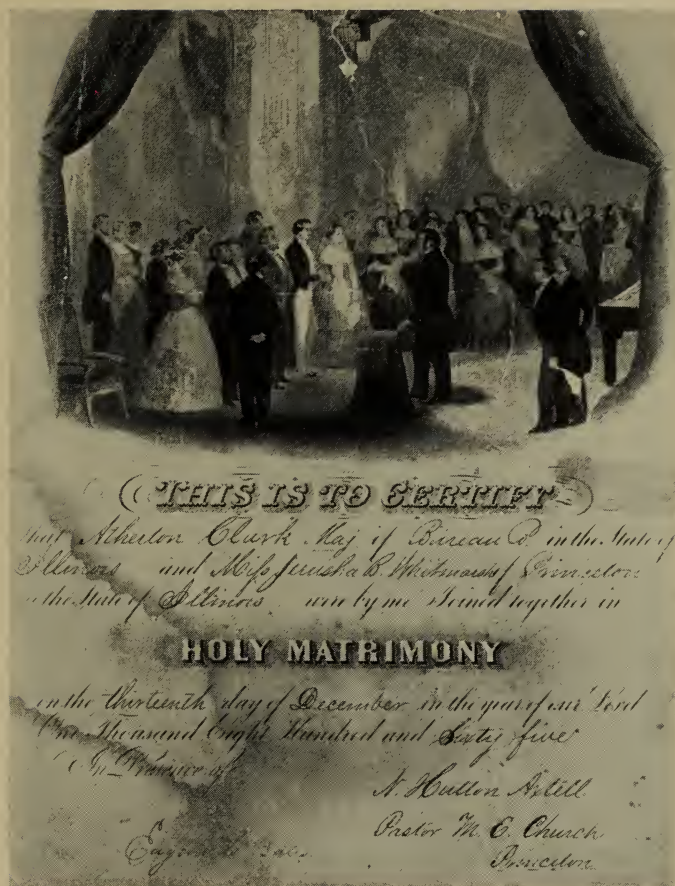
I learned the Presbyterian catechism and received a Bible for it, with my name written in it by the minister. I also received a prize for learning a pamphlet with the title *Dialogue between Christ, the Youth and the Devil*.

Our house was a sort of headquarters for visiting clergy. Father had charge of the American Bible Society's Bibles and Testaments, which he kept in a cupboard in his office, and we sold these to all who wanted to buy. The agent always stayed at our house when he made his tour of the country. Though his name was "Lord," I remember we children did not like his manner very well.

We never celebrated birthdays or gave birthday or Christmas presents. I used to wish I could have a doll or a book or candy on Christmas Day, but Mother said no one knew for certain what day was Christ's birthday, and her sister (Father's first wife) had died about Christmas time, so it was a sad day for her. I remember telling her that as her sister was a Christian and in a better world, it did not seem right for that reason to make us children unhappy on that day. But a small rag doll that my sister made me was the only one I ever had and I had to be content with that.

I used to read the few books I had—*Pilgrim's Progress* and Sunday school books—over and over and wished for more. One day when we were in a store I saw a Mother Goose book for fifteen cents and teased Mother into buying it for me. I was very possessive with it, and as my little brother Horace wanted to take it, I presume we used to quarrel over it. One day as a result Mother snatched it out of my hands and flung it into the open fire. I was so provoked, I said: "I don't care; I know it all by heart anyway." But I never thought Mother did right in destroying my property.

Probably the most exciting event of my early life was the departure of my brothers Lewis and Sam for California in 1851. Sam was the leader in this enterprise, the one who wanted to go. He was not yet twenty-one, and Mother hesitated to let him take the long and perilous journey, but she consented on condition that Lewis, the kind, steady elder brother, went too.



THE CLARKS' MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE

The artist's fanciful scene at the top fixes the time of the marriage of Major Atherton Clark and Miss Jerusha B. Whitmarsh almost as definitely as does the date in the text, December 13, 1865.

So Lewis, who was not at all adventurous but who was ready to accommodate others, made his plans for going on this quest for gold. Father borrowed two hundred dollars, mortgaging the house, and sent his two sons off across the continent with his prayers and blessing. Many friends and neighbors turned out to see them start and bid them Godspeed.

To pay their passage they drove an ox team owned by Mr. Davis, his wife and two sons, who rode in it. Mr. Bagley (a Methodist minister),

his wife and one son were also in the company. They drove across the plains, stopping to rest on Sundays. Mrs. Davis did not want to go, I remember. She died on the long journey and our boys made her coffin. We were all fond of "Auntie Davis" and mourned for her when we heard of her death. She was a pleasant neighbor and had kept house for us when we went on our trip to Michigan. I remember well her short, plump figure, her silver hair cut short about her neck, and the gold beads she wore.

We used to get letters from the boys only once in two weeks, and very welcome they were—even though we had to pay ten cents postage each time. Lewis came home after seven years in California, probably no better off than if he had remained at home. Sam did not return until after the Civil War was over—he spent several years in Lower California. The boys had tried mining and had turned to their trade of carpentry when fortune did not favor them in their search for gold. Neither one made much money, but they were able to pay off their debt and raise the mortgage on the house (Mr. Ballou had loaned Father the money at 50 per cent interest). They sent Father enough besides to buy the corner lot where the Downey residence now stands (northwest corner of Euclid and Park avenues) opposite the Presbyterian Church. And they undoubtedly had experiences they would not have missed, so I think they never regretted going.

I do not remember when I learned my letters. Perhaps it was when my sister Mary taught school in the old log cabin on South Main Street. I was very fond of stories. Before I could read, Sister Mary, fifteen years older than I, used to tell me stories from the Bible and read to me out of the *Rollo* books by Jacob Abbott. They were excellent for that time and a great advance over the children's books which had preceded them, but they look queer now beside the beautiful picture books of today. If anyone asked me what I wanted for a present I always said, "A book."

After Sister Mary's term (my first in school, as I remember) Miss Fannie Bryant, Colonel Austin Bryant's daughter, taught in the old log cabin and I attended. I remember one day Fred Moseley called to see her and she sent the children outdoors to play. They said Mr. Moseley was "teacher's beau." Sure enough, they were married later. . . . My third term was spent in a private school some place down town, but I cannot remember where. All I can remember about it is that we had a picnic and I walked with Mary Denham (sometimes called Mary Lovejoy), stepdaughter of Owen Lovejoy, Congregational minister and later representative in Congress, and always an avowed abolitionist. His house was an important station on the Underground Railroad. My parents were abolitionists, too, and we sheltered a runaway slave one night, though I did not know what had happened until a long time later.

The fourth term of school I attended was held in our parlor. (Previously we had rented this room to a photographer, for we needed the money more than the room. I have an ambrotype of Father which I believe this man took. It is a splendid likeness, though it is eighty years old.) The teacher's name was Miss Smith, and my recollection is that she boarded with us, though I am not sure. It was in this school that I got a prize for spelling on three different occasions. The third time I won it the teacher persuaded me to give up the prize to the one next below me; I did, but with reluctance, for it did not seem fair to me. The Bryant boys went to school here, too. From the *Youth's Companion*, for which Brother Thomas subscribed for us, I learned a dialogue piece which I spoke in school. I took drawing lessons, which I did not like.

After this, I attended a girls' school taught by Miss Alida Lane, a beautiful young woman who taught us manners and tried to make little ladies out of us. I almost worshiped her. She was a sister of Mrs. Winter, wife of Dr. Winter who kept a drug store on Main Street. We learned many things in Miss Lane's school. We wrote compositions. We practiced calisthenics in a circle, each having a partner. I enjoyed the games very much. Many of the girls dressed very nicely and wore white aprons. I was the tallest girl in school, though I was only eleven years old. We always stood by our height in class. . . . But when the second term of school opened I was not able to attend. Money for schooling was scarce, for one thing, but I think also that Mother was afraid that I had been taught to dance.

About this time the public school (later called the Union School) was established. I was not allowed to attend, as Mother thought I would learn more in a smaller group. At this time a teacher from the East taught in the Bryant district, two and a half miles south of town. As we had a horse and buggy, Mother would take Brother Horace and me to school in the morning; we took our lunch with us and walked home. I did not want to go, was ashamed that I had to go, and probably did not learn any more than if I had been permitted to attend the town school. The children of Mr. Pillsbury, the Presbyterian minister, went to this school, but they lived in the country. I enjoyed the walk home with the other children part of the way, but got very tired by the time I reached home at six o'clock. Sometimes we were lucky and got a ride home.

After that year and until I was sixteen I was allowed to attend the public school in town. We often boarded the teachers. At seventeen I received a teacher's certificate and taught my first school—in the Sisler district. My salary was \$12.50 a month and "board around," a week for each scholar from a family. I was glad to be able to stay three weeks with my sister Mary (Mrs. Sisler) as the Sislers had three children in school. This was a summer

term. Immediately following this I was appointed assistant in the primary room in town. Mr. Bangs was principal and his wife taught, too. One of the teachers with whom I served there was Miss Wadham, a sister of Mrs. Mills Clark. Another was Miss White, afterward Mrs. Henry Reed. After three or four years of teaching I became very tired and resigned. After a short rest I taught a summer school in James Smith's house, which Mr. Bangs had rented and which he offered me. That fall I began to teach in the Trimble district, near what is now the Country Club. In this school Ellen and Horatio Clark were my pupils. Ellen later became Mrs. Charles Edward Borop. These young people were half-sister and half-brother of Atherton Clark, whom I later married. . . .

Many names and faces come to my mind as I try to recall early Princeton. Dr. Swanzy, who lived south of town and was an excellent doctor, is one of these. Dr. William Chamberlain, or "Dr. Bill" as he was almost always called, was a jolly fellow and an excellent doctor, though addicted to drink. I've heard some people say that they would rather have him *drunk* than any other doctor *sober*. "Dr. Bill" was our doctor. He had a lovely wife, who was my Sunday school teacher in later years. She was a sister to the Rev. Mr. Church's wife, and her mother was Mrs. Topliff, a very old lady then. There was another sister, Miss Sarah Topliff, a deformed lady, as near a saint as could be. I used to think her calls at our house were like angels' visits. Everyone loved her. She had a beautiful voice and sang in the Presbyterian Church choir, always sitting on the back seat, my sister Mary next to her.

Dr. Winter, who kept a drug store, lived on our street. Miss Alida Lane, Mrs. Winter's sister, was remarkable for her beauty. Even as a child I liked pretty people. A sister of Mrs. Porter Bacon was calling at our house once and I remember thinking her so very pretty and saying to her: "I wish you were my sister." I loved the pretty dresses worn by some of the ladies, especially the Robinson girls, who sat on the front seat in the choir.

Near the Presbyterian Church lived the Gray family. They had one girl, Lucy, and three boys, Herman, Sidney and Clark. We were allowed to go and play with them sometimes. Then I was permitted to play for an hour at a time with Dorcas Newell, Benjamin Newell's daughter. They lived near the courthouse in a fine large brick house. There were two boys in that family, Parker and Henry.

When I was about sixteen the Sidney Smiths moved into our neighborhood, just to the south of us. They had four daughters; the two older girls, Emily and Lucy, were about my age. Elizabeth and Laura were younger. We attended school together—Emily, Lucy and I—and wrote on our desk "Em, Dute and Lute—We, Us and Company" (Lute was short for Lucy; Dute

was my nickname). They were very attractive girls, and their mother, whom I was afterward to call "Aunt Laura" since she was my husband's aunt, was ingenious in making their clothes out of a box she had, which seemed to produce just what was needed. Emily became Mrs. Henry Smart of Chicago; Lucy, Mrs. Cutler of Rockford; Elizabeth (Lib) married Mr. Curtis of Chicago; Laura, the youngest, became Mrs. Elijah Bryant of Princeton. They were first cousins of my husband; "Aunt Laura" and my husband's mother were sisters, their name being Doolittle before their marriage.

Then there were Sarah Olds, the Everett girls and their brother, Sarah Converse, Sarah Carleton, Anna Chapman (cousin to Sarah Converse) and a girl named Emily Herald, who lived with the Carse, next door to us. James and John A. Carleton were members of our choir and Mrs. John Carleton was a rather famous singer. I remember Mr. Lucas, a music teacher (violinist) who tried to teach us notes. We had a concert at the close of his school which was quite a success, at which we gave twelve pieces. Joel Doolittle, a cousin of my husband, taught a singing school, the closing concert of which we all enjoyed, the girls dressed up with paper flowers and singing fine songs. I did not go to Mr. Doolittle's school, though I wanted to, for Mother did not like his singing. Afterward another very fine-looking young man taught a singing school one winter and charmed all the girls.

One other early resident I must mention: Rainbow Johnson, the only Negro in town at the time. He lived in a cave in the woods and used to help people about their yards sometimes. He was a great curiosity to us children. . . .

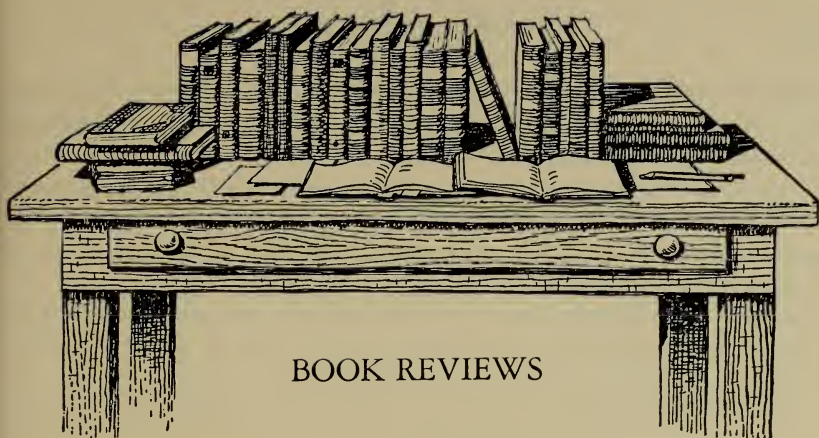
When the railroad came, the depot was a mile north of Princeton and some stores sprang up there. Parker Newell, brother of Benjamin Newell, had the chief one. His home was west of ours. His wife was the principal music teacher of the place, and I took my first music lessons from her. She played the pipe organ in the Presbyterian Church. Mrs. Hale, her sister, had a women's furnishings store on Main Street. She had a son Theodore. Dr. Converse had a store on the corner north of the courthouse. Then next on Main Street were the stores of Benjamin Newell, Mr. Templeton and Mr. Salisbury. Dr. Swanzy's son used to clerk for him when I was a girl.

Farther south, Mr. Carse (who lived in the house east of ours) had a store in the corner brick building, next to the house now occupied by James Fraser. Justus Stevens had a store on the corner of Court Square, his sign reading in very large letters going clear around the store: "HARDWARE, QUEENSWARE, GROCERIES AND DRY GOODS." Mr. Stevens lived above his store and later built the large brick house on the opposite corner from ours. Mandana Stevens, his daughter, was one of my girl friends. I think she had the first piano in town and I thought it wonderful that she

was able to play so well. Her sister Clara died when she was just a little girl.

When a circus came to town the tent was always pitched on Courthouse Square and I could hear the music at our house as I fell asleep. One day Sister Mary took me to see the one in which Tom Thumb was shown—Barnum's, I believe—and that made me happy for many a day, for it certainly was an event in my life.

There are many more recollections I might write.



BOOK REVIEWS

Lincoln and the Bluegrass: Slavery and Civil War in Kentucky. By William H. Townsend. (University of Kentucky Press: Lexington, 1955. Pp. 392. \$6.50.)

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Ohio River Valley was more or less a unity. Population moved across Kentucky and Tennessee into southern Indiana and Illinois, and trade ran along the rivers from both directions to the great central water-highway. Families visited back and forth and an upland Southern pattern of life developed throughout the region. Abraham Lincoln's birth in Kentucky, his marriage to a Lexington girl who came visiting to Springfield, Illinois, and his continued interest in Kentucky affairs throughout life, were only normal sequences in the Ohio Valley.

William H. Townsend has understood this fact and has developed its implications with insight and skill. His purpose is to show the influence of the Bluegrass world on Lincoln's attitudes toward slavery and toward the South in general. To do this he begins with a series of snapshots of Lexington, the Lincolns and Todds who came to live in Kentucky, and the Offutts who were their neighbors. He tells the story of Abraham's great-uncle Thomas Lincoln and his domestic difficulties; of Denton Offutt's trading ventures; and of life in Lexington as it developed about Mary Todd and her family. He lays particular stress on slavery and its abuses, and leaves the impression that about all that was bad and brutal in the institution was revealed in this region where it was supposed to be somewhat mild in character. Here the sale of slaves, especially girls with physical appeal and for sordid purposes, seems to have been especially marked, and masters who abused their servants quite common. Here also opposition to slavery,

under the leadership of Cassius Clay, seems to have been unusually intense, and the struggles between slaveholders and antislavery men more bloody and violent than elsewhere.

And all of this touched Lincoln's life in intimate fashion. He obtained his early livelihood in the employ of Denton Offutt; he married into the family of Robert S. Todd; he saw slavery and its evils in Lexington; he heard Henry Clay, the great Whig, speak there; he realized the hopelessness of a house divided against itself from the bitter internal struggles going on in Kentucky; he even saw the tragedy of racial mixture when it invaded his own wife's family.

The story of Kentucky's civil war within a Civil War and its impact on Lincoln is developed largely around the gallant Robert J. Breckinridge and Mrs. Lincoln's relatives, most of whom took the Southern side. Kentuckians, including Lincoln, were forever torn between their human sympathies and personal feelings, and their loyalty to the Union cause. They had to make decisions that cost. How they sometimes sacrificed family and all for the cause, and how they sometimes allowed their sad hearts to rule, is the story of greatness at its best. Townsend has told it with dignity and restraint. Both Lincoln and the Bluegrass gain from its telling.

The University of Chicago

AVERY CRAVEN

Lincoln's Sons. By Ruth Painter Randall. (Little, Brown & Company: Boston, 1955. Pp. 373. \$5.00.)

Here woven into one volume are incidents from many of the previously published articles and small books on Robert, Edward, William and Thomas, sons of President and Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. This is well, because many readers cannot obtain these earlier publications which are long out of print. Almost all that is known of Eddie, who died at four, is here and most of brilliant, lovable Willie's eleven years is recounted.

Thomas "Tad," the youngest and liveliest son and spoiled pet of his father, lived six years beyond that parent's death. At eighteen he returned from study abroad, a young man of promise, but death came in a few months. Robert, the first born and only survivor after 1871, born in 1843 in the Globe Tavern, a respectable looking inn in Springfield, lived in luxury most of his life, dying not long before his eighty-third birthday. He is gratefully remembered for bequeathing the fine collection of his father's papers to the Library of Congress.

A much better book on the Lincoln sons would have resulted had the author chosen to have studied this collection of over 18,000 documents. Pranks of Willie and Tad are well retold in the author's words but knowledge

of the Springfield setting where they happened is lacking. No research has been done in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston or other newspapers to vivify or present new material on Tad's trips with his mother from the White House; these are only incidents to be mentioned.

A subject presenting such good opportunities should not have had such hurried treatment. There is little evidence of original research by the author beyond her biography of Mary Lincoln (1953). There are too many "probably's," conjectures, repetitions and unverified statements. Tad's two years and a half in school abroad, where he developed rapidly under German and English instructors, are incompletely covered. More interesting facts might have been secured from Tad's guardianship files in the Illinois State Historical Library.

There is scant information on Robert's rise as a lawyer, on his family or social life, or on what the writer calls "his public and business career"—in fact, she disclaims such material as "not within the scope of this book." But why should this information not find a place in a book on Lincoln's sons—particularly when the author claims to know about Robert's "personality through its varying phases to its ripe maturity" and states "the fact that he was his father's son conditioned his whole life"?

There are thirty illustrations, an outstanding index and a bibliography, but no footnotes.

January, 1956

H. E. P.

Seventy-five Years in Retrospect. From Normal School to Teachers College to University. Southern Illinois University, 1874-1949. By Eli G. Lentz. (University Editorial Board, Southern Illinois University: Carbondale, 1955. Pp. 160. \$3.00.)

This attractive volume has a well-chosen title. The author himself came to the faculty of "Southern" in 1914 and can look back upon thirty-five of the school's years. He has been professor emeritus since 1950.

For the job it seeks to do the book is excellent, and should appeal to all alumni and friends of Southern Illinois University. Controversial matters are treated with wisdom and tact by this long-time professor of history and dean of men. Appendix A lists all faculty members, 1875-1949, with years of tenure and subjects taught. The book is well illustrated and has a good index.

Professor Lentz's own years of invaluable service are not adequately revealed by him. To some extent this omission is remedied in the introduction by Dr. Charles D. Tenney, chairman of the University's Editorial Board.

S. A. W.

Aurora, City of Bridges. By Robert W. Barclay. Edited and compiled by Vernon Derry. (The Kelmscott Press: Aurora, Illinois, 1956. Pp. 64.)

This very attractive booklet is Volume Two of a series which will give the highlights of Aurora's history. Volume I, *Do You Remember?* dealt with Aurora up to 1857. *Aurora, City of Bridges* covers the years from 1857 to 1875. It is well illustrated and the reproductions are excellent. The text is entertaining and historically accurate. This is a publication of the Aurora Historical Museum.

S. A. W.

The Great Burlington Strike of 1888: A Case History in Labor Relations. By Donald L. McMurry. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1956. Pp. x, 377. \$6.00.)

Of the major railroad strikes before 1900, the brotherhoods of locomotive engineers and firemen participated in only one. The uprising of 1877 was unorganized; the Gould Southwest Strike of 1886 and the Pullman Strike of 1894 were led respectively by the Knights of Labor and Debs's American Railway Union, which were industrial-type rather than craft organizations. In each of these distressingly violent struggles, armed force beat the workers. Federal judges also aided the companies by issuing injunctions or similar orders. The Burlington Strike of 1888, begun by the brotherhoods and supported by the switchmen, was distinctively different except for the use of injunctions and the complete defeat of the strikers.

Professor McMurry's excellent study describes in detail the various aspects of the long and bitter battle. The brotherhoods' internal dissensions, their relations with other unions and the company's relation with other railroads all affected the character and evolution of the controversy. The author's dispassionate analysis of the principles, purposes and personalities that came into conflict is admirable.

The account is based largely on the Burlington Archives in the Newberry Library, which contain materials especially collected at the time for a history of the strike (it was prepared but not published). McMurry also had access to records still retained by the railroad and to the family papers of Charles E. Perkins, president from 1881 to 1901. Thus the views and actions of company officials are amply documented. Much less information is available concerning the opinions and activities of the strikers and their leaders. The brotherhoods' comparatively scanty records and the two contemporary histories written by strikers are fortunately, if ironically, supple-

mented by the reports the company received from Pinkerton detectives. Those mercenaries seem to have served Clio as well as the "Q."

The brotherhoods lost the strike for two main reasons: First, they grossly underestimated the reserve supply of competent engineers and firemen, who were rapidly recruited in the East by the Pinkerton and similar "employment" agencies. Then, as the "Q" began to resume normal operations with "scabs," brotherhood members on connecting lines attempted to boycott the interchange of Burlington cars. Several carriers, fearful of sympathetic strikes or eager to increase their own business at Burlington expense, at first acceded to the boycotts, but they were quickly broken by injunctions.

Everyone with an appetite for labor or railroad history will relish the superb slice Prof. McMurry has provided. However, only those in the Bronx will cheer the publisher for consigning the notes to the rear of the volume. It must be pointed out, too, that McMurry's summary (p. 281) of Taft's opinion in the Ann Arbor boycott case of 1893 is inaccurate (see 54 *Federal Reporter* 730, 743-44).

Springfield, Illinois

ELWIN W. SIGMUND

Viola, the Duchess of New Dorp. A Biography of Viola Roseboro'. By Jane Kirkland Graham. (Illinois Printing Company: Danville, Ill., 1955. Pp. 312, 319 [2 vol. in 1]. \$8.50.)

The life of Viola Roseboro' spanned the years from 1857 to 1945. The daughter of a Tennessee preacher whose antislavery views forced him to leave the South, she and her mother spent the Civil War years in Mattoon, Illinois at the old Essex House. Her father was a Union chaplain. After a career as an actress and later as a columnist on the *New York Daily Graphic* Viola became a reader for *McClure's Magazine*. Among the young writers whom she "discovered" or helped were O. Henry, Booth Tarkington, Jack London, Julian Street and Willa Cather.

The first volume ends with the death of her mother in 1893 and her father in 1895. The second concerns the more influential years of her life and her decline. This volume also contains many tributes and reminiscences of friends and writers who knew this talented, unconventional, violent-tempered woman. In 1928 she was left an annuity and the specter of poverty no longer haunted her. She visited Europe again. Her last ten years were spent in the little town of New Dorp on Staten Island.

The wealth of detail in both volumes almost overwhelms the reader. The book is attractive in format, printed on good paper and has many illustrations.

Miss Graham, a native of South Carolina, lives in Columbia. She is a graduate of the University of Michigan and has a Master's degree from Vanderbilt University.

S. A. W.

PERIODICAL ARTICLES OF INTEREST TO ILLINOISANS

- "Riding the Circuit with Lincoln." By Willard King. (*American Heritage*, Feb., 1955.) A revealing picture drawn from Judge David Davis' letters to his wife.
- "How Lincoln Would Have Rebuilt the Union." By James G. Randall and Richard N. Current. (*American Heritage*, June, 1955.) An excerpt from *The Last Full Measure*.
- "When Mary Lincoln Was Adjudged Insane." By Ruth Painter Randall. (*American Heritage*, Aug., 1955.) Based on the report made by Leonard Swett, Chicago lawyer, to Judge David Davis.
- "Songs of the Union." (*Chicago History*, Winter, 1954-55.) Compares the stirring songs of the North with the mournful melodies of the Confederacy.
- "The Masons and the Water Works." (*Chicago History*, Summer, 1955.) An account of the ceremonies at the laying of the cornerstone for the Chicago Water Tower, March 25, 1867.
- "The Presidential Campaign of 1864 as Viewed by a Federal Army Colonel." Edited by David Lindsey. (*The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, June, 1955.) A letter by Durbin Ward of Ohio to Samuel S. ("Sunset") Cox, August 2, 1864.
- "The Uses of the Humanities." By Harold W. Dodds. (*The Huntington Library Quarterly*, May, 1955.) A plea for the liberal education—history, literature, philosophy.
- "The Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana, 1855-1856." By Roger H. Van Bolt. (*Indiana Magazine of History*, Sept., 1955.)
- "Mortality of the Five Lincoln Boys." By Milton H. Shutes. (*Lincoln Herald*, Spring-Summer, 1955.) Causes for the deaths of Lincoln's four sons and his grandson "Jack."
- "The Underground Railroad along the Detroit River." By Fred Landon. (*Michigan History*, March, 1955.) The part played by Windsor, Ontario, in helping slaves escape to freedom.

- "The 'Smoke Filled Room' and the Nomination of Warren G. Harding." By Wesley M. Bagby. (*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1955.) What went on back of the scenes at the Chicago convention; how it was done.
- "The Five 'Devils' of the Historic Writer." By Richard L. Neuberger. (*Montana Magazine of History*, Winter, 1955.) The difficulties encountered by a writer of history who wants to be read.
- "Terrors of the Tired Mind." By Charles M. Gates. (*Montana Magazine of History*, Winter, 1955.) A reply to Senator Neuberger's article. *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*, Summer, 1955. Lewis and Clark Expedition Sesquicentennial Issue.
- "Abraham Lincoln and Montana Territory." By Carl McFarland. (*Montana, The Magazine of Western History*, Autumn, 1955.) Lincoln's part in the creation of Montana.
- "America's Heritage." By Bruce Catton. (*New York History*, April, 1955.) The importance of the local bit of history to the whole story.
- "The Soldier's Creed." By Lester J. Cappon. (*The Ohio Historical Quarterly*, July, 1955.) The patriotic credo of Minor Millikin, Civil War soldier killed at Stone River, December 31, 1862.
- "What Are We Doing?" By Clifford L. Lord. (*Utah Historical Quarterly*, Jan., 1955.) The importance of local history.
- "Where the Old Road Turned." By Dorothy Canfield Fisher. (*Vermont History*, April, 1955.) Remarks on the value of local history.
- "The Importance of Local History in the School Program." By Ralph Adams Brown. (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Spring, 1955.)
- "The Unitarian Hillside Home School." By Florence Fifer Bohrer. (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Spring, 1955.) Personal reminiscences by Mrs. Bohrer, daughter of Governor Joseph W. Fifer and first woman member of the Illinois Senate, of her school days at "Hillside" near Spring Green, Wisconsin.
- "The Why of Local History." By Don McNeil. (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Summer, 1955.)
- "History and Pictures." By Robert Taft. (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Summer, 1955.) The uses and value of pictures by "historian-authors."



NEWS AND COMMENT

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Members of the Ninian Edwards Chapter (Alton), Daughters of the American Revolution, were guests of the Alton Area Historical Society on February 12. Papers on various phases of D.A.R. activities were given by Mrs. H. E. Winans, Mrs. Eric Rohde, Frances Fisher, Charlotte Stamper, Mrs. Horace I. Ash and Mrs. C. E. Sargent. In tribute to Lincoln's birthday President John F. Lemp read the Gettysburg Address.

Mrs. John F. Lemp, program chairman, on March 11 described the Haskell House where the meeting was held. Other Alton hotels were discussed by Alice Mather (Buck Inn), Donald F. Lewis (Mansion House), Margaret Hall (Alton House), John Stobbs (Upper Alton hotels and boarding houses), Charlotte Stamper (Depot Hotel), Mrs. H. C. Holliday (Empire House and Franklin House), Birdie Ruedin (Hotel Madison), Mrs. George Ritcher (Hotel Stratford) and Mrs. Lemp (Mineral Springs Hotel and St. Joseph's Hospital).

John H. Nowlan, founder and president of the Bond County Historical Society, was given the Award of Merit of the D.A.R. at the Society's meeting on January 5. The presentation by Mrs. Charles I. Watson, vice-regent of the Benjamin Mills Chapter, was preceded by a biographical sketch of Mr. Nowlan, read by the Society's secretary Mrs. Frank V. Davis. Mr. Nowlan acknowledged the award and made committee assignments. Following the meeting moving pictures loaned by the Amateur Photo Club were shown by the Rev. Robert B. Berger.

Gary Clausius addressed the Boone County Historical Society January 23 on various aspects of the Civil War. On March 29 George A. Seipp, repre-

sentative of the American Bindery and Supply Company of Minneapolis who is now working on Boone County records, discussed the preservation of historical records and documents.

The Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) met at the Woodlawn Regional Library on February 17. President Henry Vernon Slater showed slides of the World's Columbian Exposition. This was followed by community singing and refreshments. The following officers were elected: Mrs. P. A. Gray, president; Mrs. E. J. Chladek, vice-president; Mrs. Frank Lindsey, recording secretary; Waunetah Manly, corresponding secretary; Myrtle Moulton, treasurer; and H. D. Ludlow, membership chairman.

The officers and directors of the Du Page County Historical Society met at the home of President H. A. Berens in Elmhurst on January 15. They announced plans to publish during the year an annual containing drawings, photographs, a historical map and articles on the history of the county. Director H. G. Foote has been named editor and art co-ordinator for the publication.

The York Historical Society (York Community High School, Elmhurst) presented a Lincoln Day program at the school on February 10 in the form of a television program in three sketches: a scene at New Salem, a Lincoln-Douglas debate, and the War Department in Washington. Carl Swanson took the part of Lincoln, Barry Jablon was narrator and Judy Clark, president of the Society, gave the "commercials." Other students participating were Gail Giegold, Fred Stark, Carol Lavigna, Ed Salazar, Harley DeJong, Ruth Mueller, Ella Hicks, Bob Hubony, John Strand, Mike Buzell, Bob Hurt and Gary Perkins. The scripts were written by Jim Rice, Elizabeth Schaefer, Jerry Ritter, Charles Casper, Tom Noggle, John Strand and Eldon Mattick. John Westley read the Gettysburg Address to the accompaniment of the school's band, directed by Laverne Reimer, which also played other appropriate selections. Dwight Larson and John Varland are faculty sponsors of the organization.

The board of the Geneva Historical Society met on January 22 at the home of Mrs. Margaret A. Allan. The membership met at the Geneva Public Library on March 11.

At the Greene County Historical Society meeting on January 12 several articles were donated to its collections. Mrs. Howard Hobson discussed

After-Harvest Festival by Sylvia Fry Arbuckle, former Greene County resident. Music was furnished by a woodwind trio from the Carrollton Community Unit Band. T. A. Martin of Carrollton is president of the Society. Officers were to be elected at a meeting on March 1.

New officers were installed at the January 23 meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society. They are: Mrs. Phillip Newkirk, president; Lowell A. Dearing, vice-president; Elizabeth Kell, secretary-treasurer; and Mildred Warren, program chairman. Mrs. J. Lester Buford described a tour of Europe and the Middle East which she and her husband made last summer.

The Kankakee County Historical Society has recently compiled a list of historical markers in the county. A series of illustrated articles about them is appearing in the *Kankakee Journal*.

At the Society's February 12 meeting Len Small showed color slides of the European trip he and Mrs. Small took last year. All officers were re-elected: Mrs. Thomas Baird, president; Len Small, Harold Simmons and Clermont DeSelm, vice-presidents; Mrs. Fannie Still, secretary; and Gilbert Hertz, treasurer. Announcement was made of the death that day of State Historian Harry E. Pratt.

Knox County Historic Sites, Inc., held a potluck dinner at the Knoxville High School cafeteria on February 8. After the dinner Knoxville High drama students, coached by Mrs. Van der Heurk, presented "Grandma Goes to Jail," a play based on the escape of a fugitive slave from the old Knoxville jail (still standing) while Lincoln was in the city campaigning for the Senate.

Henry N. Barkhausen of Lake Forest addressed the February 9 meeting of the Lake County Historical Society on "Early Sailing Vessels of the Great Lakes," illustrated with old photographs. The meeting was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Arpee, and Mrs. Arpee displayed a set of china plates with designs of clipper ships.

The La Salle County Historical Society met at the Ottawa Boat Club on February 12. Harry Giljames reported that the Wallace Cemetery, Ottawa, containing nine graves including that of Colonel T. Lyle Dickey, is being salvaged by the Society. A letter from Dickey's great-grandson, Justice

Charles Dickey Merrill of the Nevada Supreme Court, was read. C. C. Tisler, former director of the Illinois State Historical Society, told of the need for marking the spot where Lincoln spoke for Frémont in 1856, and also mentioned that an Ottawa building where Lincoln was once entertained might be secured as a historical museum. Stanley White of the Ottawa High School faculty described the Lincoln-Douglas debate of August 21, 1858, and plans for commemorating its centennial in 1958. Keith Clark, also of the Ottawa High faculty, sang five ballads of his own composition dealing with La Salle County history.

The biographical sketch of Lewis G. Schanck, Libertyville pioneer, prepared by his great-granddaughter Mrs. Marian Taylor Pettengill and recently presented at a meeting of the Libertyville-Mundelein Historical Society, is being published in installments in the *Libertyville Independent-Register*.

The Macon County Lincoln Memorial Association has launched a drive for \$25,000 to restore, mark and maintain historical places in the county, particularly those connected with Lincoln. Wallace A. Buck, president of Lincoln Laboratories, Inc., was the first contributor with a \$5,000 donation. The Association's initial project will be the restoration of the first Macon County courthouse, now in Fairview Park, which was in use when the Lincoln family arrived in Decatur from Indiana in 1830. The State Division of Parks and Memorials is also planning to improve the Lincoln Homesite west of Decatur during 1956.

The state's newest historical society—the Marshall County Historical Society—was organized on January 19, the 117th anniversary of the creation of the county. State Historian Harry E. Pratt was the principal speaker.

Harry L. Spooner of the Peoria Historical Society addressed the Marshall County Society on March 26 in the courthouse at Lacon, pointing out various fields of activity for local historical societies. It was announced that Miss Nellie Thompson is making available the first floor of her home for a historical museum. President Wayne Buck gave a short speech, and Vice-President T. Val Wenk gave a memorial tribute to Dr. Pratt, who died February 12. The Society voted to affiliate with the Illinois State Historical Society.

The board of directors—two members from each of the county's twelve townships—drew lots to determine which should serve one year, which two and which three. Roscoe Ball, Lois Leigh, William Babington, Frank Clift,

Mrs. I. L. Davis, Myrtle Strawn, William Koch, Sr. and Harold Dawson will serve one year; Ray Litchfield, Mrs. Clarence Tuttle, Maud E. Uschold, T. Val Wenk, Wayne Buck, Mrs. Harold Carter, R. A. Barnes and R. N. Turnbull, two years; and Hattie Smith, Mrs. Emma Dubois, Rollin Braun, Eleanor Bussell, Mrs. Ethlyn Kimpling, Ernest Zilm, Mrs. Lynn Broaddus and Charles Bergantz, three years. Officers, all chosen from the board, are: Mr. Buck, president; Mr. Wenk, Mrs. Dubois and Miss Leigh, vice-presidents; Miss Bussell, secretary; and Mr. Ball, treasurer.

At the Mattoon Historical Society meeting on February 15 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Kizer, Ed Hortenstine of Gays told of the murder of Nathan Ellington, Coles County's first clerk, by his son-in-law Adolphus F. Monroe, and of the subsequent lynching of Monroe by a mob who feared he might be pardoned. Hortenstine, whose great-grandmother was an Ellington, showed a copy of an 1852 picture of Ellington and a photostatic reproduction of a broadside concerning his death. Copies of these were later presented to the Coles County Board of Supervisors and to the Charleston Community Unit School, on whose property is the Ellington family graveyard, recently restored by Hortenstine. The Society held a brief memorial service for State Historian Harry E. Pratt.

President John W. Allen of the Illinois State Historical Society addressed the Morgan County Historical Society on January 13 on the value of county records. Margaret K. Moore, Olive Burnett, George Vasconcellos and Dr. Clarence P. McClelland were re-elected directors.

The annual meeting of the Nauvoo Historical Society was held on January 17 at the high school. Officers elected for 1956 are: Wayne L. Earls, president; Paxton J. Lewis and Mrs. Edna Griffith, vice-presidents; Mrs. William J. Ortman, recording secretary; Sister M. Gregory, corresponding secretary; K. J. Reinhardt, treasurer; Sister M. Innocents, historiographer; A. T. Hogan, auditor; Mrs. Carl J. Blum, librarian; Mrs. Blum, R. J. Repplinger and Mrs. Hallie Radel, museum committee.

"An Historical Pilgrimage" was the title of the program presented before the Oak Park Historical Society on February 23 by Mrs. Roy E. Smith and Mrs. A. A. Willander, sisters, who described their trip to historic shrines in the East and displayed materials collected on the tour. President Kenneth E. Sperbeck presided at the meeting in the South Branch Library.

The Ogle County Historical Society met on February 29 at the Lindenwood grade school. Enos Keithley of Dixon gave an illustrated lecture on "The Natural Life of Ogle County." Mrs. Robert Etnyre discussed plans for the Society's co-operation in the coming spring tour of the Illinois State Historical Society, part of which was scheduled to take place in Ogle County.

The Polo Chapter of the Society met on January 20 and heard the Rev. John Heckman speak on "Pioneer Roads." Everett Webster is president of the chapter. An Ogle County Junior Historical Society is being established under the direction of Joe Jobst, Polo Community High School coach.

At the Palatine Historical Society meeting on March 5 Allen Bennett of Chicago, descendant of Palatine pioneers, located a number of landmarks in the vicinity unknown to the present generation. Mrs. A. R. Kleinhans spoke on the flora of Palatine Township. Membership in the Society is nearing 100.

Mrs. J. C. Thompson spoke on the history of the old Peoria High School, later the public school administration building and recently vacated to make way for the new Illinois River bridge approach, at the meeting of the Peoria Historical Society on March 19 in the Lincoln Room of Bradley University Library.

All officers of the Perry County Historical Society were re-elected on January 9. They are: J. Wesley Neville, president; Mrs. Finis Hilt, vice-president; Gale D. Hicks, secretary; Mrs. Elizabeth Spurgeon, treasurer; D. A. Purdy, curator; S. Dyer Campbell, Arch Voight and D. W. Hortin, directors. All officers are also members of the board of directors. The meeting was held in the Scout House in Du Quoin.

The Society met on February 6 in the John B. Ward School. Letters regarding the marker to be placed on the site of the old Du Quoin Female Seminary were read, and a marker to commemorate the centennial of the Perry County Fair this year was discussed. William H. Farley of Harrisburg, an official of the Greater Egypt Association, showed a color film on scenic spots in southern Illinois, and Raymond E. Lee gave a brief report on a book about John Brown, a Perry County Mormon leader in the past.

At the March 5 meeting Mr. Lee reviewed *When Lincoln Came to Illinois*, telling how Lincoln and Douglas passed through Perry County. A premium book of the 1899 Du Quoin street fair, a hundred-year-old day book and an 1876 Illinois atlas were among other books displayed and discussed. The meeting was held in the Masonic hall at Tamaroa.

Wilbur Hawbaker was re-elected president, Mrs. R. E. Morgan vice-president and Mrs. Agnes Foster secretary-treasurer of the Piatt County Historical Society at its meeting January 12. Herbert Kaiser spoke on the early history of the county.

Bad weather forced the cancellation of the January and February meetings of the Randolph County Historical Society. At the March 16 meeting in Sparta plans were discussed for the Society's co-operation in the dedication on May 20 of a historical marker near Ruma calling attention to the grave of Dr. George Fisher, first sheriff of the county; for a summer historical tour of the county; and for the preparation and distribution of table mats to publicize historic sites in the county.

At the meeting of the Rockton Township Historical Society on January 26 Mrs. Frank Olsen was elected treasurer to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Paul Sprague, and Mrs. William Zinnecker was selected to fill Mrs. Olsen's place on the board of directors. The Society held a public card party February 23 to raise money to be used in the restoration of the Stephen Mack house. The Harrison School P.T.A. and the Rockton Lions Club have donated to the project, and two I-beams for strengthening the floor have also been received.

Ray Durham of Harrisburg addressed the Saline County Historical Society on "The Values of Historical Background" on January 3.

On February 7 the Society heard reports of various committees and an illustrated talk, "Lincoln in Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois," by Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Bosket.

A tape recording made in 1950 by the late Mrs. Talitha Aaron, telling of the founding and settlement of Eldorado, was the feature of the March 6 meeting. The Society voted to invest in recording tape and to start a library of such recordings. Two short films—one on the American flag and one on the Declaration of Independence—were shown. Officers elected for the coming year are: Louis Aaron, president; Mrs. Ray Altmire and Mrs. Harold Holdoway, vice-presidents; James Bond, secretary-treasurer; John Foster, program chairman; Mrs. J. D. Morse, publicity chairman; and Mrs. Clarence Bosket, social chairman.

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford on February 26 elected Axel F. Rehnberg as president to succeed Martin R. Wall, who received a

vote of thanks for his three years' service. Wall was elected a vice-president along with Carl P. Sandstrom, Axel Ney, Mrs. Elsa Nyberg and Mrs. Alida Carlson. Herman G. Nelson was re-elected secretary; Arvid V. Peterson, treasurer; and Thorsten Thorstenson, radio chairman. Directors elected for three years are Arthur R. Alfredson, Ernest A. Carlson, Eric Johnson, Carl Linde, Hugo W. Linden, T. G. Lindquist, Simon Lindstrom, Adolph Miller. John P. Nelson, Mrs. Rosa M. Nelson, Carl Severin, Margaret Swanson and Nils P. Testor. Other members of the board are Alf O. Ahlstrand, Mrs. Blanche Alden, Arthur Arvidson, George Blomgren, Hilmer Borggren, Adde J. Carlson, Leland H. Carlson, Axel Eklund, Sr., Ernest O. Estwing, John Fridh, Martin H. Hawkinson, David W. Johnson, Raymond Johnson, Stuart L. Johnson, Milton A. Lundstrom, Allan Mallquist, Emil P. Olson, Holger Pearson, Albin Peterson, Oscar W. T. Peterson, Mrs. Gust Sjoblom, Mr. and Mrs. Gust E. Swanson, Thorsten Thorstenson, Einar Wahl and Mrs. Martin Wall. Axel Farb is honorary director.

The principal speaker at this annual meeting was Gunnar Svensson of Skarblacka, Sweden, who won first prize among 17,000 entrants for having Sweden's finest and best independent retail establishment. Anna Lisa Gewertz, a Rockford College student from Sweden, also spoke, and students of the Swedish classes at East High School presented part of the program under the direction of Kenneth G. Ostrum. The Society voted a tuition scholarship to a student from these classes to the Summer School Swedish Workshop at Augustana College. The sixth annual Midsummer Festival to be sponsored by the Society and the fund-raising campaign to be carried on at that time were also discussed. It was decided to pay the expenses of thirty fiddlers from Rattvik, Sweden, with four folk dancers from Dalecarlia and Swedish opera singer Hanser Lina Goransson, as the feature attraction of the festival.

A week previously, February 19, a bronze plaque containing an inscription in the handwriting of Carl Sandburg, composed especially for the Society, was unveiled at a public ceremony in the Erlander Home Museum, acquired by the Society in 1951 and opened to the public the following year. Sponsors' and memorial plaques flank the Sandburg inscription to left and right. Each letter of the inscription was first cut in wood by Ture Blixt, Rockford wood carver, before being cast in bronze. The making of the plaque was personally supervised by retiring President Wall, who made the presentation. The text reads:

"They shared in the making of America. From the wilderness days through storms of war and years of peace, their toils, endurance, valor, their struggles and devotions, are woven as a dark scarlet thread in the sacred American Story and Dream. Their names and works are worth Remembrance. Carl Sandburg, 1954."

The Vandalia Historical Society, meeting in the Hotel Evans on January 17, re-elected Joseph C. Burtschi president; Josephine Burtschi, vice-president; Mrs. Ben W. Perkins, secretary; and the Rev. Roscoe C. Coen, Ben W. Perkins, James Rexwinkle, George L. Whiteman and Irene Schenker, directors. Stanley Stewart was elected treasurer to succeed C. F. Houston, who retired because of ill health. Speaker of the evening was former Circuit Judge Josiah T. Bullington of Hillsboro, who was born in Fayette County and began his law practice in Vandalia. The 81-year-old jurist brought to life scenes from the Fayette County of his boyhood under the title "Away Back When." A poem written by Bullington more than fifty years ago was read by his former partner, Circuit Judge J. G. Burnside of Vandalia. The Rev. William M. Henderson led group singing with Delia Mitchell at the piano, and Mrs. A. N. Hudson of Chicago, a former Vandalian, sang a solo.

At the Society's meeting in the Vandalia Community High School on February 21 the Rev. Roscoe C. Coen presented a memorial to State Historian Harry E. Pratt. G. V. Blythe gave an illustrated talk on his experiences at the Little White House Conference on Education.

The Society met in the basement of the First National Bank on March 20. William Small of Loogootee, past president of the Illinois State Archaeological Society, gave an illustrated address on "Indian Lore" and exhibited items from his collection. President Burtschi reported on progress in the search for permanent quarters for the Society.

Wasson W. Lawrence, president of the Wayne County Historical Society, presided at the dedicatory ceremonies of the new Fairfield Public Library on January 8. The Society has been instrumental in bringing the building to completion and has a room in it set aside for its meetings and exhibits. Mayor Ora J. Hubble, Librarian Lila Stonemetz and Library Board President T. O. Mathews gave short talks.

At the Society's meeting in the new building on January 27 the Rev. J. C. Lappin spoke on the history of the village of Jeffersonville (better known as Geff). Jesse Crews presented a paper on the history of Wayne County hotels on March 30.

President Snyder Herrin of the Williamson County Historical Society was the speaker at its January 15 meeting. His subject was "The Influence of Herrin's Prairie Churches."

"On the Prairie and the Kankakee" was the subject of the address delivered before the Winnetka Historical Society on January 25 by Werner W. Schroeder, attorney for the Illinois Toll Road Commission, who based

his address on historical research into land titles in the Kankakee area. Due to provisions in early Indian treaties, titles in this area do not originate from the United States government as do those in the rest of Illinois.

BROADCAST MUSIC HONORS CARL SANDBURG

A number of authors and critics, asked to suggest what five books they would prefer to have with them on a desert island, placed Tolstoi's *War and Peace* first, then Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln*, *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*.

The canvass was made by the "Book Parade" department of Broadcast Music, Inc. of New York to celebrate the beginning of the fourth year of its weekly radio program of that name. A dinner was given in honor of the only living writer on the list, Carl Sandburg, at the Netherlands Club of New York on February 6. Sandburg was presented with a bronze plaque by Carl Haverlin, president, and reminisced on his career.

HOSPITABLE HAZELWOOD

The main part of the log house pictured on the front cover of this *Journal* was built in 1837 for "Governor" Alexander Charters, a retired New York linen importer. At his estate which he named "Hazelwood," on Rock River just north of Dixon, the "Governor" became famous as a country squire for his lavish hospitality. Among the many guests whom he entertained during the forty years that he lived here and in the big frame manor house that he built nearby were Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, William Cullen Bryant, Margaret Fuller, Ole Bull, General Philip Kearney, Adelina Patti and Artemus Ward.

Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen, its present owner, has rehabilitated the old structure and its several additions and has furnished them with a large collection of historic papers, pictures and other mementoes. She has also maintained "Hazelwood's" reputation for hospitality. This estate is one of the places to be visited during the Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society, May 18-19, at Dixon-Oregon.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEETING OCTOBER 12-13

The fifty-seventh annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society will be held in Chicago on Friday and Saturday, October 12 and 13. Elmer E. Abrahamson, Chicago attorney and past president (1950-1951) of the Society, is general chairman of the event. Members will receive complete programs and reservation blanks.

In Memory of
HARRY EDWARD PRATT
December 16, 1901 - February 12, 1956

Illinois State Historian, 1950-1956
Secretary-Treasurer, Illinois State Historical Society, 1950-1956
Editor, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1950-1956

ACTING ILLINOIS STATE HISTORIAN

Upon the death on February 12 of State Historian Harry E. Pratt, Governor William G. Stratton announced that the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library had appointed Dr. Pratt's widow, Mrs. Marion D. Pratt, as Acting State Historian. She was also named Acting Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Historical Society by President John W. Allen. Mrs. Pratt had been working part time as Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of the Society since 1953 and had aided her husband in an unofficial capacity with the multifarious phases of his work since their marriage in 1950.

Mrs. Pratt, a native of Rockford, was graduated from Rockford College in 1928 with honors in history. She received her master's degree in history from the University of Illinois the following year. She was twice the recipient of the Talcott fellowship at the University of Chicago where for three years she did graduate work in history on her doctorate and was a research assistant in the department. From 1929 to 1945 she taught history and was assistant to the dean at Rockford College (nine years) and also taught in colleges in Omaha and Fairbury, Nebraska.

Mrs. Pratt came to Springfield in 1945 as assistant editor of the Abraham Lincoln Association's nine-volume edition of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953). From August, 1952 until the Association disbanded at the end of that year and the files were transferred to the Historical Library, she served as Executive Secretary and acted temporarily in that capacity for several previous periods. She also helped edit the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* and the books published annually under the auspices of the Association, and read manuscripts of a number of Lincoln books.

In 1953 Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, awarded Mrs. Pratt its Lincoln Diploma of Honor. Among others who have received this honor are James G. Randall, Carl Sandburg, Harry E. Pratt and Benjamin P. Thomas. The following year Dr. and Mrs. Pratt were awarded degrees of Doctor of Literature by Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois, unique in that the citation was a joint one for their "... unflagging devotion to the cause of historical accuracy and careful investigation ... conscientious and creative editorship ... knowledge and integrity in the Lincoln field. ..."

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Dr. Pratt in the Horner-Lincoln Room



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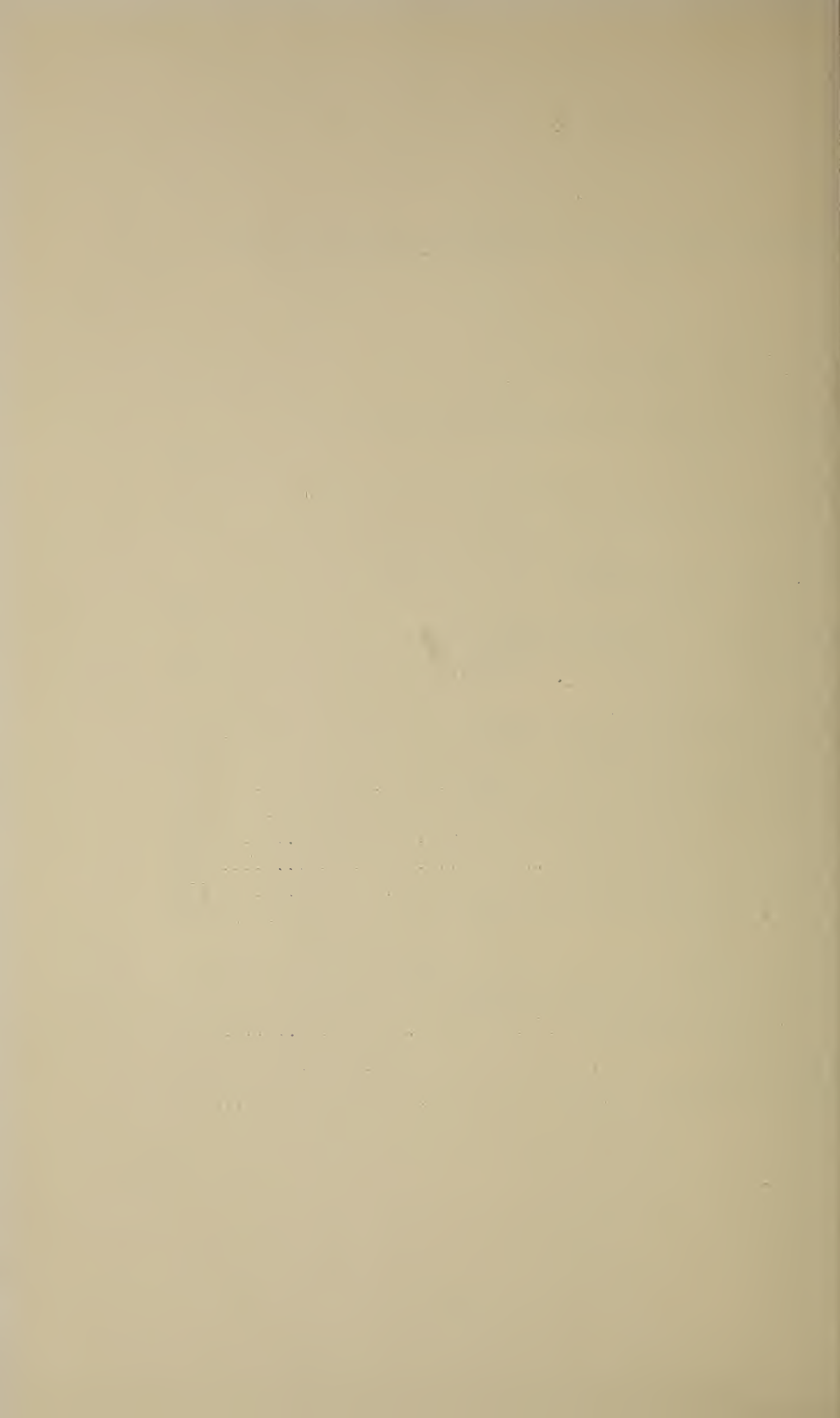
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Harry E. Pratt

HARRY EDWARD PRATT

1901 - 1956

BY BENJAMIN P. THOMAS

MANY persons experienced a sense of personal bereavement and scholarship suffered a severe loss when Harry Edward Pratt, Illinois State Historian and one of the nation's foremost Lincoln authorities, died in Springfield on February 12, 1956.

He was born in Cambridge, Illinois, on December 16, 1901, the second child of Edward and Katie (Hall) Pratt. His father died in October, 1903, at the age of thirty-two; his mother lived until November, 1948. His sister Sue was graduated from MacMurray College and married Harold Ward.

On the paternal side, Harry's ancestry traced back to Thomas Pratt who came to Massachusetts from England about 1640, and to Revolutionary soldier Ephraim. Later their descendants moved to Pennsylvania, then to Ohio, and in 1855 to Knox County, Illinois. Harry's grandfather, Elihu Austin Pratt, served four years in the Union Army and in 1875 moved to Henry County, where he died in 1912. The Halls were among the early settlers of the county.

Harry had the advantages of travel to different parts of the United States while attending the Cambridge public schools, and was an enthusiastic reader and collector from an early age. While in high school he was chosen a delegate to Boys State and was active in Boy Scout work.

He was graduated from the University of Illinois in 1923. He taught history at Athens High School in Ohio, became

director of student enterprises at Moraine Park High School in Dayton, then moved to Cody, Wyoming, where he was senior master at the Valley Ranch School. A basketball star in high school and a crack tennis player at Illinois, he coached those sports and track at these secondary schools. Also keenly interested in baseball and football, he thought seriously of making coaching his career. Throughout his life Dr. Pratt continued to be an ardent sports fan, following his favorite teams closely in the newspapers and on the radio.

At Illinois, however, he had developed another enthusiasm that eventually became uppermost in his mind. As a sophomore he had taken a course in history under Dr. J. G. Randall, an outstanding authority on Lincoln and the Civil War. Under this stimulus he became an avid student of history, serving as unofficial research assistant to Dr. Randall and tracking down clues for him in the Illinois State Historical Library and other repositories. This interest soon became so consuming that it would not be denied.

He enrolled at Illinois as one of Dr. Randall's first graduate students, receiving his master's degree in 1927 and his Ph.D. in history in 1930. His doctoral dissertation on David Davis, presiding judge of the old Eighth Circuit, brought him close to Lincoln; the intimacy would ripen into knowledge and understanding with the passing years.

While still doing graduate work at Illinois, Harry Pratt married Hjordis Lind on July 3, 1927. They had one child, Patty Ellen, now Mrs. DeVere R. Boyd, Jr.

After obtaining his doctorate Harry Pratt served for four years as dean at Blackburn College, Carlinville. He was beloved for his friendly interest in the students' problems, and his enthusiasm made history live in and out of the classroom. Then in the fall of 1934 he moved to Illinois Wesleyan University at Bloomington to become associate professor of history. Here, as at Blackburn, he made lasting friendships with members of the faculty and the student body. A turning point

in his life came two years later, however, when he was offered and accepted the position of executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association in Springfield.

President and energizing spirit of the Abraham Lincoln Association was Logan Hay, prominent Springfield lawyer, unselfish civic leader and a man steeped in the Lincoln tradition. Under his guidance the Association had won national recognition in scholarly circles for the work it had done and was doing in clearing away the myths that had beclouded Lincoln and in reconstructing the true story of his life, especially his Illinois years.

The Association's first executive secretary, Paul M. Angle, had resigned in 1932 to become head of the Illinois State Historical Library, and had been succeeded by the writer of this article. In the autumn of 1936 I decided to resign, and Mr. Hay, Paul Angle and I held a consultation concerning the selection of my successor. We were of one mind: Harry Pratt was by all odds the man best qualified for the job. The directors of the Association concurred in our judgment, and Angle and I were delegated to go to Bloomington and broach the matter to him. We called him away from his duties and conferred with him in my car.

I can remember yet how Harry's eyes lighted up when we offered him the position; for it involved a great deal of historical research, and research was his forte. He also knew what a privilege it was for a young man to work under Logan Hay's tutelage. There have been no better preceptors in the Lincoln field than "Jim" Randall and Logan Hay.

Three of the books which Dr. Pratt wrote during the seven years (1936-1943) that he served as executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association are basic Lincoln literature. *Lincoln 1840-1846* (1939) and *1809-1839* (1941) completed a four-volume set—begun with Angle's *Lincoln 1854-1861* (1933) and my own *Lincoln 1847-1853* (1936)—covering Lincoln's day-by-day activities from his birth to his in-



CONSULTANT ON LINCOLN FILM

When the movie "Young Mr. Lincoln" was being made Producer Darryl Zanuck called Dr. Pratt to Hollywood as historical consultant. The Lincoln author is shown examining his autographed copy of the original, illustrated script of the Twentieth Century-Fox production starring Henry Fonda and directed by John Ford.

auguration as president. It would be difficult for anyone except the compilers of these books to realize how much meticulous and often dirty work their preparation involved. To amass the material that went into them meant spending long, solitary hours turning the pages of yellowing newspapers, examining old letters, searching grimy court records undisturbed for years—in short, uncovering every possible bit of information bearing on Lincoln's pre-presidential years. Though Paul Angle and I both thought we had become proficient at that

sort of historical detective work, we agreed before long that Harry Pratt had no equal in turning up historical source material in obscure and unlikely places. It was a talent that distinguished his work then and ever afterward.

Dr. Pratt's *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln* (1943) was a truly original contribution to our knowledge of Lincoln. Dispelling the legend of Lincoln's lifelong poverty, it proved that after paying off the heavy debt incurred in his early venture as a storekeeper he quickly improved his financial status, and during his career as a lawyer not only provided comfortably for his family, but also accumulated surplus funds that he invested mostly in notes and mortgages. Worth approximately \$15,000 in 1860, he invested most of his presidential salary of \$25,000 a year in government bonds and left an estate of some \$83,000, which under the administration of David Davis had increased to about \$111,000 when it was distributed to his heirs.

But these three books were only a part of Dr. Pratt's contribution to Lincoln scholarship during those years; for he was a prodigious and tireless worker. In 1938 he edited the Association's facsimile publication of William Dean Howells' campaign biography of Lincoln which Lincoln had corrected in his own handwriting. In 1944 he published *Concerning Mr. Lincoln*, an annotated compilation of letters revealing Lincoln as contemporaries saw and described him. From the time he assumed the executive secretaryship most of the articles in the Association's quarterly *Bulletin* were from his pen; and when that publication was superseded in 1940 by the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* he became associate editor of the new periodical, with Angle as editor. And all the while, largely through his efforts, an enormous mass of information about Lincoln was accumulating in the Association's files. Its membership more than doubled, and Dr. Pratt's correspondence was now on a national scale. The visitors who came to see the Lincoln shrines were given memorable personally conducted tours.

World War II came and brought with it a scarcity of college instructors. In 1943 Dr. Pratt left the Association to teach history at Ball State Teachers' College in Muncie, Indiana. Then because of his wife's ill health he had to put his scholarly interests aside, and took a position with Sears, Roebuck & Company. Assigned first to Beloit, Wisconsin, he was later transferred to Muskegon, Michigan, where in addition to his business duties he took an active part in the organization of Goodwill Industries in that city. There his wife "Yordie" Lind Pratt died on September 3, 1949.

The academic world had not forgotten him, and the following year, the position of Illinois State Historian became vacant with the resignation of Jay Monaghan. The position carried with it the directorship of the Illinois State Historical Library, and had always meant election as secretary-treasurer of the Illinois State Historical Society, owing to the close relationship between the Library and the Society.

Alfred W. Stern, Clarence P. McClelland and I were the trustees of the Library at that time, and we consulted with Governor Adlai E. Stevenson and the directors of the Society. Again, as had been the case when Dr. Pratt was selected as executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, he was the immediate and unanimous choice of those entrusted with the decision. He was offered and accepted the post.

It was as though Harry Pratt had been foreordained for the position he now held. Already well versed in Illinois history, his knowledge of it became encyclopedic. Already an authority on Lincoln, he gained still greater stature in that field. His knack for finding historical source material brought rich accessions to the Library. Its collection of Lincoln manuscripts almost doubled, passing the 1,000 mark in 1953; numerous collections of manuscripts of other prominent Illinoisans were added to its resources; and many files of Illinois newspapers were rescued from obscurity and made available for research in the Library. He edited the *Journal of the Illinois*

State Historical Society with outstanding competence, and under his leadership the Junior Historian program and the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine took on new life. A fluent speaker, and able to entertain and hold the attention of his audience while always leaving something worthwhile with them, he appeared frequently before local historical societies, civic groups and professional and scholarly organizations, and on radio and television programs. His infectious enthusiasm inspired and invigorated state-wide interest in history. His quiet but warm personality won him a multitude of friends. To him the sort of work he was now doing was scarcely work at all—he called the Historical Library the “fun house.”

From the beginning of the Abraham Lincoln Association's research program in 1925 a close relationship had existed between the Association and the Historical Library. When Dr. Pratt became State Historian, the Association was fully embarked on its most ambitious undertaking—the preparation of the monumental nine-volume *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953). In this project the Historical Library, a treasure house of Lincoln material, was an indispensable adjunct, and the relationship between the two institutions became still closer. Dr. Pratt aided greatly in bringing the *Collected Works* to reality not only by making available all the facilities of the Library, but also through his personal help and counsel.

Serving as assistant editor in the preparation of the *Collected Works* was Marion Dolores Bonzi. A mutual interest in Lincoln drew her and Dr. Pratt together, and on October 1, 1950, they were married. Almost at once the Pratts became a husband-and-wife historical partnership. They both began to be mentioned in authors' acknowledgments. Dr. Randall wrote in his *Lincoln the President: Midstream*: “The Pratts—Harry E. Pratt of the Illinois State Historical Library and Mrs. Marion Bonzi Pratt of the Abraham Lincoln Association—stand high among the author's distinguished benefactors by reason of

their incomparable knowledge, able guidance, and unstinting service." Carl Sandburg dedicated his *Abraham Lincoln: the Prairie Years and the War Years*, a one-volume abridgment and revision of his massive six-volume biography, to Harry and Marion Pratt, among others, and characterized them as "a handsome team of Lincoln scholars, who gave time and care to the new manuscript of the *Prairie Years*."

In 1953, with the *Collected Works* finished and published, the Abraham Lincoln Association discontinued its work and turned over to the Historical Library the tremendous store of Lincoln material that it had accumulated over almost thirty years. With this accession to the Library's already enormous resources, one of the largest working collections of Lincolniana in the world came under Dr. Pratt's supervision.

Dr. Pratt was a member of Sigma Pi fraternity and Phi Delta Kappa, Kappa Phi Kappa and Delta Theta Epsilon. He was also a member of such organizations as the American Historical Association, the American Association of State and Local History, the Illinois Library Association, the Caxton Club, and the national Manuscript Society. He was a life member of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Illinois State Historical Society, and an honorary member of the Lincoln Fellowships of Wisconsin and Southern California and the Civil War Round Tables of Chicago and New York. He served on the advisory board of the Lincoln National Life Foundation and the Lincoln Memorial Garden Foundation. His connection with the Methodist Church was more than nominal affiliation, for he led Sunday School and Bible classes from Cambridge to Muskegon.

Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee, awarded him its Lincoln Diploma of Honor, and it gave him pride and satisfaction when his wife received the same honor in 1953. Lincoln College at Lincoln, Illinois, conferred in 1954 the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature on both Harry and Marion Pratt with a unique joint citation.

Over the years Dr. Pratt wrote the impressive list of books, monographs and articles, most of which are included in the appended bibliography. He also reviewed many books for newspapers, historical and literary journals. But the works that bear his name by no means measure his activities as a scholar; for no man gave more generously of his time and talents to others. Local historians and writers of magazine and newspaper articles constantly came to him for help. And few indeed are the Lincoln books of consequence published during his years with the Abraham Lincoln Association and as Illinois State Historian in which the author does not acknowledge his indebtedness to Harry Pratt. Thus the public appreciated his work, but his colleagues appreciated it still more. He deserved the title "a historian's historian."

In the spring of 1955 Dr. Pratt suffered a coronary thrombosis. It came on April 15—the anniversary of Lincoln's death. After a number of weeks in the hospital, quietly carrying on various duties of the State Historian, Dr. Pratt returned to the Library, trying to take things a little easier until he had fully regained his health. But to work at anything less than full thrust was difficult for a man of his intensive drive; and to lose touch with happenings at the "fun house" would have been worse to him than death itself. Ten months after the first attack another heart spasm struck him, this time a fatal one. He passed away on the one hundred and forty-seventh anniversary of the day that Abraham Lincoln entered the world. His resting place is Oak Ridge Cemetery, in the shadow of Lincoln's tomb.

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WESTERN ATTITUDES AND RECONSTRUCTION POLITICS IN ILLINOIS, 1865-1872

BY HARRIS L. DANTE

THE attitudes that developed in Illinois during the Civil War Reconstruction period were rooted in traditional sectionalism within the state, prewar cultural and commercial ties with the South and conflict of interests in an age of transition. These complex realities have been largely neglected because the political advantages growing out of the conflict accrued to the benefit of the Republican Party and gave it an influence that was out of proportion to its actual strength.

The charge of treason was effectively used against the Democrats and made it imperative that the latter possess a leadership, wisdom and unity which was often lacking. Actually, opposition to the war did not indicate any warmness for secession and rebellion, but rather represented a sectional attitude that was distinctly Western. Many Illinois agrarians, especially those in the southern part of the state, never lost faith in the belief that their economic and political interests in the future were still to be, as in the past, in alignment with the South against the Northeast.

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Men like William J. and Joshua C. Allen, Samuel A. Buckmaster, John R. Eden and Lewis W. Ross spoke a Western rather than a Northern language. They added a peace program and a demand for constitutional liberties to Jacksonian agrarianism, emphasizing both states rights and a desire to preserve the Union through compromise. The Democrats early in the war began to distinguish between the administration and the Union, and an organized peace movement took shape, particularly after the Emancipation Proclamation heralded a shift in war aims away from the sentiments of the Crittenden resolution of July 22, 1861.¹

No evidence has ever been established to connect the official Democratic Party with secret societies, "peace plots," conspiracies to detach the Northwest from the Union or other forms of treason, though the acts of a few extremists did irreparable harm to the party. Calm judgment and facts indicate that the charge of "Copperhead" as applied to most of the Peace Democrats was not justified. They may have been impractical, but they were not traitors. Most Democrats who favored peace continued to support the war effort and urged an end to hostilities only if coupled with reunion.²

¹ The Crittenden resolution, which stated that the war would cease when the Union had been restored, was accepted almost unanimously by the national House of Representatives. *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 1 Sess., 223.

² Charges of disloyalty in regard to the Democratic-controlled Constitutional Convention of 1862 and General Assembly of 1863 were never proved but were quite generally believed. All the prominent Democrats arrested during the summer of 1862, including Representative William J. Allen, Judge John H. Mulkey of Cairo, State Senator William H. Green of Massac County, State's Attorney John M. Clemerson of Marion, Galena attorneys Madison Y. Johnson and David Sheean, and M. Mehaffey and P. Odell, editors of the *Paris Democratic Standard*, were released without any charges having been proved against them. Arthur C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870 (Centennial History of Illinois, Springfield, 1919, Vol. III)*, 225; *War of the Rebellion. A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1899), Ser. II, Vol. VII, 228-321; Mayo Fesler, "Secret Political Societies in the North during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XIV (Sept., 1918), 192, 219, 234; Oliver M. Dickerson, *The Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1862* (Urbana, 1905); *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 11, Apr. 14, 16, Aug. 26, 1862; *Chicago Times*, Apr. 15, 1862; *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], June 23, 1862; Charles H. Coleman and Paul H. Spence, "The Charleston Riot, March 28, 1864," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXIII (Mar. 1940), 8-10; Frank L. Klement, "Copperhead Secret Societies in Illinois during the Civil War," *ibid.*, Vol. XLVIII (Summer, 1955), 154-58, 163-66.

Whatever criticism of the peace party may be justified because of the exigency of the emergency, the Republicans who made political capital out of the situation should likewise be held to account. By giving credence to rumors, they contributed to the general atmosphere of suspicion and hysteria, lowered morale and hindered the war effort. They must share the blame for endangering Lincoln's policies. The Republicans, however, forged out of military victory a powerful political weapon. In addition they received influential support from the G.A.R. and the Methodist Church.

The Grand Army was conceived, organized and provided with national leadership by men from Illinois. As early as October, 1866, its 141 posts throughout the state operated as virtual adjuncts of the Republican Party, throwing fear into the ranks of Republican civilian politicians as well as the Democrats.³ Many of these posts campaigned for their fraternal favorites, as when the Springfield post went *en masse* to greet "the gallant Logan" in his Decatur debate with Colonel T. Lyle Dickey. Republicans, in and out of the G.A.R., sought to capture the soldier vote by reunions and picnics for the veterans in accordance with a definite pattern called the "Soldier Love Feast System," in which the boys were given "band music, *hard tack* and *sow belly* in abundance" and good Radical oratory.⁴

The Methodist Church had embraced the antislavery

³ The organization was originated by the Rev. William J. Rutledge, chaplain, and Maj. Benjamin F. Stephenson, surgeon, of the Fourteenth Illinois Infantry. The latter was chosen as the first state commander in March, 1866. General Stephen A. Hurlbut of Illinois was the first national commander, succeeded on Jan. 15, 1868, by John A. Logan who was three times chosen to the office. John M. Palmer, *The Bench and Bar in Illinois* (Chicago, 1899), I: 278-79; Mrs. John A. Logan, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife, an Autobiography* (New York, 1916), 214-21. See also *Ill. State Jour.*, Oct. 4, Nov. 28, 1866; S. W. Munn to Lyman Trumbull, May 27, 1866, David L. Phillips to Trumbull, June 10, 1866, George T. Allen to Trumbull, June 14, 1866, Trumbull to Phillips [date blurred], 1866, Trumbull photostats, Ill. State Historical Survey, University of Illinois; Trumbull to William Jayne, July 2, 1866, Trumbull MSS, Illinois State Historical Library; Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), II: 434, 520-21.

⁴ *Ill. State Jour.*, July 6, Sept. 7, Oct. 16, 1866; Benjamin F. Stephenson to Richard Yates, Dec. 21, 1866, Yates MSS, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; A. C. Babcock to Trumbull, Nov. 12, 1866, Trumbull MSS.

cause with religious fervor and had, as an organization, demonstrated its loyalty to the war effort. Because the success of President Andrew Johnson's policy would have meant an end to their Southern activities and the loss of church property that had been appropriated, the Methodists were ardent supporters of congressional reconstruction.⁵ The influence of the church in Illinois during this period was an important factor to consider, not only in elections but also in making appointments.⁶

Despite these and other advantages, the Republicans were by no means unified on all points of party policy. The term "Radical" has been used indiscriminately to oversimplify a complex of problems on many of which there was little unanimity. "Radicalism" involved not only approval of the congressional reconstruction plan but, in addition, attitudes toward Negro suffrage, the extent of vindictiveness toward the South, willingness to use Southern policy for partisan purposes, and feelings toward Johnson.

Very few Illinois politicians were extreme on all counts. On the contrary, the greatest effectiveness of the "bloody-shirt" technique was that it prevented many conservative Republicans from effectively co-operating with the Democrats who many honestly felt had been disloyal. These moderate Republicans from Illinois often played a leading role in the search for a middle way that would protect the Negro and yet curb the vindictiveness of the extremists.⁷ In fact the whole trend during this period in Illinois was much more moderate

⁵ William W. Sweet, "The Methodist Episcopal Church and Reconstruction," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. VII (Oct., 1914), 148, 154, 159-65; Logan, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife*, 369-70; *Chi. Times*, Dec. 29, 1870.

⁶ See the resolution of the Rock River Conference which met at Bloomington, Sept. 24, 1866. *Ill. State Jour.*, Oct. 12, Nov. 13, 1866; *Chi. Times*, Sept. 25, 1866; Phillips to Yates, Aug. 23, 1865, Yates MSS.

⁷ See, for instance, Trumbull's proposal of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and the Civil Rights Bill (*Cong. Globe*, 39 Cong., I Sess., 319-23, 745-46, 936-43, 1755) and the votes of the Illinois delegation on various reconstruction issues (*ibid.*, 2373, 2429, 2539-40, 3036-38, 3149, 3981). Trumbull voted for the Joint Committee only after the House asked for it, and stated privately that he did not expect much to come from it. Trumbull to Jayne, Jan. 11, 1866, Trumbull MSS.

and the conservative reaction began at a much earlier date than has been generally supposed.

None of the more notorious Radicals of the period 1865-1872 were Illinoisans. Among those who were chiefly concerned with the Negro and issues arising from the war only Representative John F. Farnsworth and Senator Richard Yates achieved much prominence; and even they were not counted among the Radical leadership. Neither gained the notoriety of Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, Ben Wade, George W. Julian and others. After the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment Illinois gave little sympathy to the succeeding group of Radicals led by men like Benjamin F. Butler, Matthew H. Carpenter, Roscoe Conkling and Oliver P. Morton—those who wanted to continue a coercive policy toward the South for political purposes.

Even John A. Logan was by comparison quite moderate in his position until Horace Greeley's nomination in 1872 made it seem politically expedient to support Grant. Logan had frequently asserted his independence of the extremists, demonstrated unfriendliness toward Grant, and usually voted with Lyman Trumbull, Carl Schurz and other like-minded senators.⁸ In fact, it was not until June, 1872, when he joined Carpenter in a defense of Grant against the attacks of Schurz and Sumner, that he made it clear that he would not go with the Liberals. His sudden unexpected action rendered useless cuts of caricatures which *Harper's Weekly* had prepared showing Logan grouped with Schurz, Sumner, Trumbull and Greeley.⁹

The people, too, were surprisingly moderate throughout the period and, except for a short time following the death of

⁸ Trumbull wrote that he and Logan usually voted together—much more than was the case with Yates. Trumbull to Jayne, Apr. 9, 1871, Trumbull MSS. Logan sent out copies of a Schurz speech under his frank. *Fulton County Ledger* [Canton], March 8, 1872. Horace White wrote Logan of the progress of the Liberal Republican movement in Illinois as if he were one of its supporters. White to Logan, Apr. 9, 1872 (copy), in David Davis MSS, Ill. State Hist. Lib.

⁹ *Chi. Trib.*, June 10, 1872.

Lincoln, displayed little vindictiveness toward the South. Many were sincerely doubtful of Southern loyalty, and these doubts were seemingly justified by numerous "atrocities" stories that appeared in the Illinois press. But the general tenor of the press, the votes of the Illinois delegation in Congress and the testimony of men like Orville H. Browning and Gustave Koerner bore witness that "the concluding words of his [Lincoln's] inaugural address . . . had sunk deep into the people's heart."¹⁰ The previous summer only one Illinois representative had voted for the extremely harsh preamble to the Wade-Davis Bill.¹¹

The reconstruction theories of the extremists made little headway in Illinois during 1865. Prominent Republican papers joined Democratic journals in expressing gratification that Johnson had rejected "the absurd state suicide theory." They approved his amnesty plan and rejoiced that he followed a moderate course between the extremes of "ultra States rights and that of ultra National rights." While many felt that the Southern states should be thoroughly tested, they were fearful that extreme measures would divide the party. Most Republicans agreed that there should be no vindictiveness.¹² In the Fortieth Congress three Illinois Democrats and at least five Republicans, including Shelby M. Cullom and Elihu B. Washburne, were still moderate and hopeful that there would be no disagreement with Johnson; while in the Senate Trumbull's Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights bills were put forward as compromise measures designed to forestall the extremists.¹³

¹⁰ Koerner, *Memoirs*, II: 440; Theodore C. Pease and J. G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (Illinois Historical Collections, XX, Springfield, 1925), I: 681-82; *Chi. Trib.*, Apr. 17, 1865. For a typical "atrocity" story see *Bureau County Republican* [Princeton], Aug. 17, 1865. Cf. *Chi. Times*, June 17, 1865.

¹¹ *Cong. Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., 2107.

¹² *Ill. State Jour.*, May 12, 30, 31, 1865, Jan. 5, 1866; *Bureau Co. Repub.*, May 11, June 1, 1865; *Chi. Trib.*, May 30, 1865; *Chi. Times*, May 11, 1865.

¹³ *Cong. Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 33; Shelby M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service* (Chicago, 1911), 152-53; Washburne as quoted in Gaillard Hunt, *Israel, Elihu*

Majority opinion gradually accepted the congressional plan for reconstruction with the hope that it would be only temporary and would quickly restore the Union. Illinois representatives understood the desire of their constituents for a definite plan of readmission of the Southern states rather than the continued imposition of additional requirements. They realized the state would turn to Johnson if Congress adjourned without such a plan.¹⁴ Therefore they accepted the bill guaranteeing restoration to the Union in return for ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, as had been done in the case of Tennessee. Many voted Republican in 1866 with this understanding, just as two years later they voted for Grant because of the closing words in his letter of acceptance, "Let us have peace."¹⁵

Trumbull's vote to acquit Johnson in his impeachment trial unquestionably went in the face of majority opinion although earlier attempts to impeach him on even flimsier charges had received little support in Illinois.¹⁶ But despite the unprecedented fury aroused against Trumbull, cooler heads prevailed and neither the national nor the state convention

and Cadwallader Washburn: *a Chapter in American Biography* (New York, 1926), 235; Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction, 39th Congress, 1865-1867* (New York, 1914), 40-41, 193. Andrew J. Kuykendall, the Republican representative from the Thirteenth District, who represented the anti-Negro prejudice and Southern sympathies of lower Egypt, was conservative throughout his term in Congress. Trumbull's correspondence is filled with letters from prominent Republican conservatives including such men as Allen C. Fuller, Newton Bateman, Francis Eastman, David L. Phillips and Charles H. Ray. See Trumbull's defense against both Democrats and Republican extremists, *Cong. Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 319-23, 745-46, and his remarks on Johnson's vetoes, *ibid.*, 935-43, 1755. Even the *Chicago Tribune*, which was Radical at this time, did not openly break with Johnson until February, 1866. *Chi. Trib.*, Feb. 6, 1866.

¹⁴ *Cong. Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 3981. Joseph Medill wrote Trumbull that Congress should not adjourn without a reconstruction plan. "This blunder must be cured or the cops will turn our flank and rear and completely rout us at the polls." Medill to Trumbull, July 17, 1866, Trumbull photostats.

¹⁵ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1868, p. 745.

¹⁶ Four Illinois Republicans voted with the three Democrats against the first efforts at impeachment. *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 68. The *Chicago Tribune* felt that only Logan and Abner C. Harding had been for impeachment from the beginning and the others had voted for it for political reasons. The failure of this first attempt was approved by ninety per cent of the people of the state. *Chi. Trib.*, Nov. 26, Dec. 13, 1867; *Ill. State Jour.*, Nov. 25, 30, 1867; *Chi. Times*, Dec. 3, 1867.

made the vote on impeachment a party test.¹⁷ Trumbull and his loyal supporter the *Chicago Tribune* stood squarely together in the next few years demanding that more attention be given to Western interests and increasingly asserting their independence of the Eastern Radicals. This caused them to be somewhat suspect, but both remained influential in party circles until they took the lead in the Liberal Republican movement of 1872.

This phase in the *Tribune's* history—the regime of Horace White (1865-1874)—has been largely overlooked by historians who have associated this powerful journal with Joseph Medill who was in control before 1865 and for twenty-five years after 1874. During the nine years the paper was under the financial control of Alfred Cowles and White, the *Tribune* became not only a leading proponent of free trade but also increasingly conciliatory toward the South.¹⁸ Both its independence and its moderation expressed a distinct Western attitude. It was quite generally held during and after the war that the West had contributed far more than its share in blood and treasure, and that the Northeast, through its control of the government, was purposely bringing about the ruin of the rival section to its own advantage. Illinois came out of the war feeling that she had been cheated, and much of the feeling of Northern unity and pride in the state's great war effort

¹⁷ Charges were made that Trumbull had been bribed, that he had a Democratic son, that his son had wagered on the acquittal, and that he planned to form a new party. Jesse O. Norton to Orville H. Browning, May 18, 1868, Browning MSS, Ill. State Hist. Lib.; *Chi. Trib.*, May 12, 14, 18, 21, 22, 1868; *Bureau Co. Repub.*, May 21, 1868; *Aurora Beacon*, May 14, 21, 1868; *Union Gazette* [Bunker Hill], May 20, 22, 1868; *Rockford Gazette*, May 21, 1868. The *Illinois State Journal* said it did not believe the charges and that the Republican Party did not wish to expel anyone. *Ill. State Jour.*, May 15, 18, 21, 23, June 1, 3, 1868.

¹⁸ White became the managing editor in April, 1865, with Medill still doing some writing but not controlling the policy. Although the *Illinois State Journal* of July 7, 1868 quoted the *Stark County News* [Toulon] as saying that Medill still had 45 shares of *Tribune* stock but would not write for the paper so long as White was in control, the *Tribune* continued to publish articles signed J. M. describing conditions in various parts of the country as Medill visited them, and supported Medill's Citizens' ticket in the fall of 1869 as well as his candidacy for the Constitutional Convention of 1869-1870 and for mayor of Chicago in 1871. *Chi. Trib.*, Apr. 9, 13, July 19, 1869, Nov. 9, 1874.

was somewhat nullified by disillusionment.¹⁹ Such expressions as the following were typical:

All through the war New England made immense sums by hiring negroes and foreigners to fill its quotas and by employing its population in filling contracts for materials to carry on the fight. It came out of the conflict without a wound, and now it is filling its coffers by a gigantic monopoly in manufacturing.

We believe that this country has been run quite long enough under the direction of New England. . . . We now have New England legislation at the national and state capitals, New England religion in our pulpits, New England ideas in our political economy, and when we die, those of us who are good will probably go to New England. . . .

In truth, almost every man in this country is wearing a New England collar. . . . We fetch and carry, and bark, and roll over, and fight other dogs precisely as and when we are bidden by our New England master.²⁰

Anti-Eastern sentiment was expressed in many ways. Westerners opposed appropriations for the Navy, particularly for East Coast yards and fortifications, as well as special favors for New England fishermen.²¹ There was a widespread campaign to move the national capital into the Mississippi Valley, and Western congressmen solemnly refused to vote for more public buildings in the East, with the serious contention that ten years hence the seat of government would be in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, Nauvoo or Keokuk.²² There was demand for immediate reapportionment following the 1870 census.²³

¹⁹ For some expressions of this feeling of Southern and Western unity see *Cong. Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 284; 2 Sess., 780; *Chi. Times*, Jan. 24, 1866; *Fulton Co. Ledger*, Aug. 23, 1867.

²⁰ *Chi. Times*, Nov. 16, 1865.

²¹ *Cong. Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 725-26, 750-52, 1212-14; 2 Sess., 1582; 41 Cong., 1020, 3782, 3784-85, 3786-3856, 3958, App., 591-92; *Chi. Trib.*, March 24, 1870, May 30, 31, 1871.

²² Each of these places had its supporters. Ill. *House Journal*, 1867, p. 586; *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 209; 41 Cong., 2 Sess., 671-74, 679-85, 3341, 3893; *Fulton Co. Ledger*, Feb. 15, 1867; Ill. *State Jour.*, June 25, 1868, Nov. 4, 1870; *Chi. Trib.*, Nov. 20, 1869, Apr. 16, 1871; *Chi. Times*, July 11, 1869; J. G. Atkinson to Yates, Nov. 27, 1866, Yates MSS; Yates to Logan U. Reavis, May 2, 5, 1870, Reavis MSS, Chi. Hist. Soc.; *Bureau Co. Repub.*, July 8, Nov. 18, 1869; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1869, pp. 116-17; Richard J. Oglesby to John M. Palmer, Sept. 21, 1869, Logan to Palmer, Aug. 23, 24, 1869, Palmer MSS; *Debates of the Illinois Constitutional Convention*, 1869-1870, I: 76, 211, 213, 230, II: 1153, 1764.

²³ *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., 522-25, 4249-50, 4735-36, 4747, App., 548-49; *Chi. Trib.*, Apr. 21, July 7, 30, 1870; *Chi. Times*, June 25, 1870; Ill. *State Jour.*, June 25, 1870.

More important, however, was the sectional stand that was taken in regard to major issues. In Illinois the complaints against the tariff were particularly strong. No state was so united in opposition to protection. The Illinois congressional delegation consistently voted as a unit against any general tariff increases as in 1867 and 1870, and for reductions as in 1871. In 1870 the state platforms of both parties took a stand against protective duties, and early in the next year the Republican-controlled General Assembly adopted an anti-protection resolution.²⁴

There was considerable disagreement on questions dealing with railroad expansion, but virtual unanimity in regard to the necessity for curbing monopolistic privileges and practices. Opposition to such unfair practices led to a demand first for waterways and then for state regulation.²⁵ An organized movement to regulate transportation rates had begun even before the end of the war and there was an increasing determination to restrict further land grants to the trans-Mississippi railroads and to protect the rights of homesteaders.²⁶

Problems dealing with finance cut across party lines. There was overwhelming opposition to any form of contraction of the currency, and it is evident that the majority of the people of the state, particularly the Democrats, favored the "Ohio idea" of paying the debt in greenbacks.²⁷ Many Jack-

²⁴ *Cong. Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 3723, 3725, 3758; 2 Sess., 1659; 40 Cong., 3 Sess., 95; 42 Cong., 2 Sess., 3652, 4090, 4205, 4212; *House Journal*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 106; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1870, pp. 396-97. Horace White was chairman of the resolutions committee, which is evidence that the *Tribune* still had considerable influence within the party organization.

²⁵ This dissension was not only a matter of railroads versus alternate water routes, but also of the Mississippi River versus both canal and lake transportation, as well as southern and central Illinois against northern Illinois and Chicago. See Washburne's attacks on the Illinois Central Railroad, *Cong. Globe*, 38 Cong., 2 Sess., 648-49, 1268-69, 1275-77, 1409-10, 1418. See also *ibid.*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 2374-75, 3814-17; 40 Cong., 3 Sess., 892-93; 41 Cong., 2 Sess., 3853; *Chi. Trib.*, Jan. 20, March 23, May 20, 25, 27, June 3, 8, July 24, 1869; *Ill. State Jour.*, Jan. 9, 1866.

²⁶ *Chi. Trib.*, June 2, 3, 4, 1863 (report of the national canal convention held in Chicago June 2-3, 1863), Dec. 28, 1864, Jan. 6, 1865.

²⁷ See votes on repeal (Feb., 1868) of the limited contraction law passed in April, 1867. *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., 70, 566, 574. The Republican-controlled legislature, Feb. 23, 1867, instructed the Illinois members of Congress "to

sonian Democrats agreed with William J. Allen when he declared: "I belong to that party which is opposed to all banks, and always have been opposed to banks."²⁸ Most supporters of the national banking system were found among the Republicans. However, in 1868 the Republicans split on financial policy and hid behind an evasive platform calling for the payment of the public debt "not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted"; while the Democrats nullified their definite and popular state resolutions by choosing Horatio Seymour as their presidential candidate and putting forward a weak slate of state candidates whose war records and patriotism were at once questioned by their opponents.²⁹

Nevertheless Western Republicans and Democrats stood together on these and other sectional issues against much of the economic program of the Eastern Republicans. On April 11, 1870 Democratic Representative John M. Crebs declared:

I am . . . gratified to see that so many men of the West on this floor, caring not which party succeeds, are willing to come forward in behalf of the great agricultural interests of the West and South, and in total disregard of party ties, and together labor in the interest of honest toil as against capital and protection.

A few days later his Republican colleague John A. Logan spoke in the same vein.³⁰ Demands for attention to these "live issues" increased.

After passage of the Fifteenth Amendment seemed to guarantee the Negroes' civil rights, Trumbull in the Senate

oppose all measures tending to the contraction of the currency by the withdrawal of the legal tender treasury notes, and to aid in all measures tending to the withdrawal of the national bank notes, and the substitution therefor of legal tender treasury notes." Ill. *House Journal*, 1867, pp. 464, 703.

²⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., 1379-80.

²⁹ *Chi. Trib.*, Apr. 18, May 7, 1868. The Democratic candidate for governor was former Representative John R. Eden, a Peace Democrat, who had been involved in the Charleston riot. He had to compete against a Republican ticket of soldiers headed by Gen. John M. Palmer. Under Grant the Republicans moved toward specie payment, but only one Republican from Illinois voted against Ingersoll's efforts to put fifty million more greenbacks into the West, Feb. 14, 1870. *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., 1263.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 2596-3075.

and Farnsworth in the House took the lead in demanding an end to any further "tinkering" with the South and a modification of the schemes of the Radicals in regard to those Southern states that were still unreconstructed. In so doing they were supported by most of the members of the Illinois delegation.³¹ The *Chicago Evening Journal* agreed that public opinion in Illinois was opposed to further congressional interference:

Reconstruction, like maple sugar, does very well in its place, but must not be attempted the year around. The frost of treason is now out of the ground, and it is high time to cease beating about the sugar bush.³²

The *Tribune* had editorialized along this line as early as February, 1868, and throughout 1869 and 1870 consistently attacked carpetbag rule and the shaping of Southern policy to promote partisan ends. It compared the Radicals with "the party of the Mountain" who assumed "that a white skin in Georgia is as conclusive evidence of disloyalty as a clean shirt was of aristocracy in France." Most Illinois Republican papers agreed, but hesitated to follow the *Tribune's* independent course and its call for a reorganization of parties following the Democratic gains of 1870.³³ Such a reorganization might have solved the dilemma of those Republicans who, while refusing to revive the issues of the war for political purposes, were still conscious of the past to such an extent that they could not bring themselves into association with the Democratic Party even when they found themselves in agreement with the Democrats on the most vital issues of the day.

³¹ Farnsworth, who had been an extremist immediately after the war, voted with the Democrats in favor of a more conciliatory Southern policy in the spring of 1869. On one occasion he declared: "Mr. Speaker, I took up the cudgel twenty-five years ago in behalf of the black man. . . . I am just as willing now, to take up the cudgel in defense of the rights of white men." *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 1 Sess., 401. Not one Illinois representative voted with the Radicals against the Bingham resolution which considerably modified Butler's schemes in regard to Georgia. *Ibid.*, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., 232, 293, 1570, 1770-71, 2850, 4796-97, 5619, 5621, 5659; *Chi. Trib.*, May 9, 1870.

³² Quoted in *Fulton Co. Ledger*, March 18, 1870.

³³ *Chi. Trib.*, Feb. 19, 1868, May 19, 31, June 21, Nov. 12, 1870; *Ill. State Jour.*, Nov. 17, 1870; *Chicago Post*, quoted in *Bureau Co. Repub.*, Nov. 17, 1870; Trumbull to Jayne, Nov. 18, 1870, Trumbull MSS.

As dissatisfaction with the Grant administration increased it found expression within the party. During the winter of 1871-1872 the struggle against the Grant senators was led by Trumbull, with Logan's support, while the Illinois representatives and the state's press were virtually united on all questions of reform.³⁴ Most Illinois Republican papers, however, balked at joining the Liberal Republican movement, though the roll of prominent leaders who joined the party reads like a blue book of Republicanism.³⁵

There is little question of the moderate course of reconstruction politics in Illinois, though she finally went with the tide on such questions as congressional reconstruction of the South and the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. The Republican Party won the elections, but the Democrats often helped defeat themselves. Not only did they fail to make the most of sectional issues on which the Republicans were divided, but in many instances they neglected to put forth their best men. Certainly Seymour and John R. Eden could not compete with Grant and John M. Palmer for popular support, while in 1872 a promising movement was foredoomed by the nomination of Greeley.

The history of Illinois during the years 1865 to 1872 is the story of a people trying to find their way back to peace amidst the uncertainties, the confusion and the misinformation of the postwar period. Under the cloak of patriotism problems of vital interest to both the South and West were pushed aside by rising industrialism and the triumphant Eastern wing of the Republican Party. Efforts to link the South

³⁴ *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., 170-71, 177-85, 1208-9, 1560-66, 1570-75, 1625-28, 1761; *Bureau Co. Repub.*, Dec. 21, 1871, Jan. 11, Feb. 15, 29, 1872; *Ill. State Jour.*, Jan. 11, Feb. 20, March 18, 1872; *Fulton Co. Ledger*, Dec. 22, 1871; *Chi. Trib.*, Dec. 29, 1871, Feb. 4, 26, 27, March 4, 10, 1872.

³⁵ In addition to Senator Trumbull, Governor Palmer, Supreme Court Justice Davis, Representative Farnsworth and three other members of Palmer's administration it included men who had been in the party leadership since its birth. Close friends of Lincoln who joined, in addition to Trumbull and Davis, included William H. Herndon, Orville H. Browning, Leonard Swett, Jesse W. Fell and every member of the 1861-1865 state administration except Governor Yates.

and West through a program of reform and moderation failed in 1872. The Republican Party continued dominant and respectable; the South, wrapping itself in sectional bitterness, was lost to the nation; while at the same time the Western farmer was crushed in the march of progress.

FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHICAGO, OCTOBER 12-13

Headquarters: Chicago Historical Society

Elmer E. Abrahamson and John G. Oien, co-chairmen, assisted by Paul M. Angle, Joseph J. Berzin, Theodore S. Charnney and Ralph G. Newman, have been working on arrangements with President John W. Allen and Acting Secretary-Treasurer Mrs. Marion D. Pratt.

Among the featured speakers will be Dr. Morris Fishbein, noted editor and author, and Emmett Dedmon, author of *Fabulous Chicago*. There will also be a tour of the Chicago Historical Society's museum, featuring centennial exhibits, and a bus tour of historic sites.

THOMAS SCOTT BALDWIN: THE COLUMBUS OF THE AIR

BY HOWARD LEE SCAMEHORN

IN AN AGE when balloon ascension and related forms of entertainment were the most popular out-of-door spectator sports many great aeronauts plied their trade of skill and daring, mixed with a shrewd business sense, to the fascination and delight of hundreds of thousands of Americans in all parts of the country. Many of them thrilled the residents of cities and towns in Illinois. The State Fair and a hundred or more county, district and community fairs featured ascensions and in larger communities a Fourth of July celebration was not complete without one.

Silas M. Brooks, who made the first ascension in the state on July 4, 1855 at Chicago, continued his long and distinguished career as a "flying professor" in some two dozen or more communities of the state during the following years. Samuel Archer King performed regularly in the larger cities, as did Washington Harrison Donaldson until his fatal ascension at Chicago in 1875. Some hundred or more names might be added to this list.

*Howard Lee Scamehorn will receive his Ph.D. in history from the University of Illinois in October and will join the faculty of the history department of the University of Colorado. He is the author of *Balloons to Jets: A Century of Aeronautics in Illinois*, written under the auspices of the Illinois Department of Aeronautics and to be published later this year. This article is from a chapter in the original manuscript which for reasons of space was considerably condensed in the book.*

The great majority of aeronauts operated within a limited radius and usually followed the profession more as a hobby than as a business; consequently they achieved neither lasting fame nor great fortune. However, the greatest aeronaut of the 1880's and 1890's, Thomas Scott Baldwin of Quincy, earned a distinguished reputation not only throughout his home state, but across the length and breadth of the nation and in some twenty or more foreign countries.

Baldwin was born probably in Quincy, June 30, 1860, the son of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Yates Baldwin, who died while Tom was still a youth. He and his older brother, Samuel Yates Baldwin, Jr., were forced to make their way in life by whatever employment they could find. Residents of Quincy afterward remembered Tom as a newspaper carrier, later as a lamplighter, then as a book canvasser.¹

In his spare time Tom turned to the bottoms north of the city where the sawdust piles of lumber mills afforded a convenient place to practice tumbling and acrobatics. The boy worked long hours to perfect a repertory of stunts for his own amusement. His gymnastic and acrobatic ability one day drew the attention of George DeHaven, proprietor of a traveling circus, who offered the youth a job as an acrobat in his troupe of entertainers.²

Four years as a circus acrobat and part-time aeronaut impressed upon Tom the necessity for heightening spectator interest in the balloon ascension, which remained exactly as it

¹ This date and place were invariably given by Baldwin after he achieved fame, and Sam Baldwin, who according to both was three years older than Tom, claimed to have been born in Quincy, Oct. 14, 1857. However, one surviving associate feels certain that Baldwin was born in Missouri before 1860, and there is some evidence that he may have been born as early as 1854, possibly in Marion County, Missouri. Conflicting evidence on this question may be found in Lester D. Gardner, comp., *Who's Who in American Aeronautics* (The Gardner Moffat Co., New York, 1922), 22; Duke Schroer, *A True History of the Daring Aeronaut Thomas Scott Baldwin, and His Thrilling Parachute Leaps from a Balloon* (Steffen & Mescher, Quincy, 1887), 4; Arnold Kruckman, "Baldwin, 'The Luckiest' Aviator," *Outing Magazine*, LXIII (Dec., 1913), 328. See also Austin Gregory, "America's Foremost and Most Famous Aeronaut, Captain Thomas Scott Baldwin," *Aeronautics*, II (June, 1908), 36.

² *Quincy Herald-Whig*, May 18, 1923.

had been forty years earlier when Charles Ferson Durant made it popular. Even as a youth Baldwin displayed the true showman's instinct for evaluating spectator reaction, a trait that enabled him in later years to rise to international fame. In his own picturesque terms, someone needed to put some "ginger in to the act."³

By the time the troupe reached Chillicothe, Ohio, in the summer of 1879, Baldwin had decided on the kind of "ginger" he would use. As the balloon began its slow ascent with Tom on the trapeze bar, he startled the unsuspecting audience by performing his entire repertoire of stunts, somersaults, flips and other gymnastic feats. This, the first of a long series of innovations in ballooning usually attributed to Tom Baldwin, was by no means original with him. Nor did he claim credit for its origin. Several years earlier Donaldson, the greatest ballooning showman of his day, had introduced the idea, but other aeronauts were reluctant to follow his example. The addition of acrobatic stunts to the usually uneventful balloon ascension heightened the element of danger involved, and consequently increased the attractiveness of aeronautics to the general public. This quickening of public interest tended to underscore the accuracy of Donaldson's belief that the public was attracted to an ascension mainly by the unconscious hope of witnessing a fatal accident.

After a year or two as a free-lance entertainer, Baldwin traveled to the Pacific Coast in search of employment. There, in San Francisco's Seal Rock Amusement Park, he spotted a five-inch cable from Cliff House to Seal Rock, seven hundred feet above the pounding surf of the Pacific, which had defied some of the most skillful slack-wire performers in the country. Baldwin looked at the cable, weighed the hazards involved, then announced that he intended to walk the treacherous cable from one end to the other. Success meant fame and possible

³ Kruckman, "Baldwin, 'The Luckiest' Aviator," 329.

fortune; failure meant ———. But confidence in his own ability precluded thoughts of anything but success. His confidence was justified; he not only walked the cable on this occasion, but continued to walk it on week-ends and holidays as a feature attraction of Seal Rock Park.⁴

While performing at Seal Rock, Baldwin's mind turned again to the problem of heightening interest in balloon ascensions. Some time during 1885 he conceived the idea of perfecting a parachute jump from a balloon as an exhibition attraction.⁵ Although the idea of a flexible parachute was not new, the absence of published information made his task extremely difficult. He read every book or magazine on the subject in public libraries and in the private libraries of scientific men, on whom he frequently called for advice.

Experiments during 1885 and 1886 indicated that a small flexible parachute would open easily if allowed to fall free for a sufficient distance. This led to tests with full-sized models. In the autumn of 1886 a small dog strapped to a parachute fell 3,000 feet from Parks Van Tassel's captive balloon at Seal Rock Park without injury. Baldwin then decided to make a trial descent.⁶ The parachute worked ex-

⁴ Author's interview with Duke Schroer, Quincy, Nov. 27, 1954; Gregory, "America's Foremost . . . Aeronaut," 36; *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Aug. 7, 1949. This was the first of a series of biographical articles on Baldwin by Dave Tuffli, city editor of the *Herald-Whig*, published each Sunday through September 11 in connection with the dedication of Baldwin Field, the new Quincy Municipal Airport.

⁵ Leonardo da Vinci had published a clear conception of a parachute in the *Codex Atlanticus* more than three centuries earlier. Joseph Montgolfier, coinventor of the hot air balloon, experimented with a parachute about 1779 and on at least one occasion dropped a live sheep in a parasol apparatus from a high tower without injury to the animal. Jean Pierre Blanchard, the first to perform an aerial voyage in America, experimented with parachutes and is said by one source to have completed at least one jump. André-Jacques Garmerin was the only one of several English and French experimenters who approached success. In America, John Wise experimented with Garmerin and Cockling type parachutes—the latter named for its inventor Robert Cockling. See Kruckman, "Baldwin, 'The Luckiest' Aviator," 330; Alexander Magoun and Eric Hodgins, *A History of Aircraft* (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1931), 87, 89-96; Monck Mason, *Aeronautica; or, Sketches Illustrative of the Theory and Practice of Aerostation* (F. C. Westley, London, 1838), 231. Baldwin acknowledged familiarity with the work of Garmerin, Cockling and others in his signed preface to Schroer's *A True History*. Gregory ("America's Foremost . . . Aeronaut," 36) gives an erroneous account of the origin of Baldwin's idea for a flexible parachute.

⁶ Kruckman, "Baldwin, 'The Luckiest' Aviator," 330.

actly as anticipated; therefore it was time to make money with it. Early in January, 1887, Tom walked into the office of the manager of the local street car company, operator of Seal Rock, with a proposition to perform a parachute jump at the rate of \$1 a foot from whatever height the manager chose.

Momentarily stunned by the tremendous risks involved in such an act, the manager quickly realized the sincerity of the proposal. Consulting a schedule of future attractions, he agreed to purchase a 1,000-foot jump for an open date on January 30. Tom fooled 30,000 spectators and the manager, for he made the jump on schedule and the next day walked into the company's office to claim his fee.⁷

Sam Baldwin and Duke Schroer, a reporter for the *Quincy Journal* and Tom's close friend, then persuaded him to perform in Quincy and he returned to prepare for an exhibition in Singleton Park on July 4, 1887. Early in June work began on a new gas balloon of 40,000 cubic feet capacity, appropriately named the "City of Quincy." On the morning of the Fourth, Baldwin supervised the inflation of the balloon at the local gas works, after which it was securely anchored to a wagon and towed to the park.⁸

A gala holiday crowd assembled early in the afternoon to witness the second parachute drop of Baldwin's career. However, strong winds delayed the exhibition more than an hour, for an attempt to launch the balloon could have resulted in injuries to spectators had the wind suddenly whipped it or the cable into the nearby crowd. At last the aeronaut decided to attempt a dangerous expedient rather than disappoint his friends and neighbors. Assistants attached the parachute to the rigging of the "City of Quincy" and cut the cable in preparation for a free ascension.

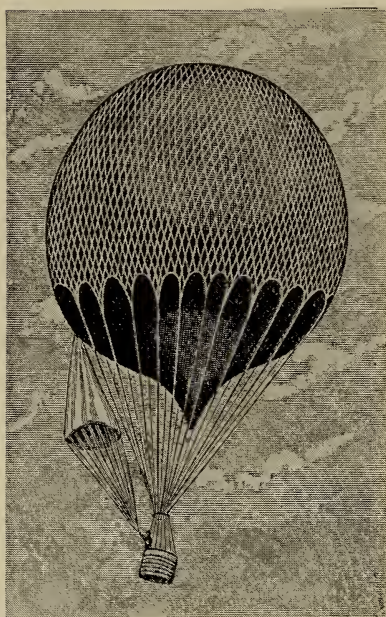
Climbing up into the basket, Baldwin addressed the

⁷ Schroer, *A True History*, 12-13; Gregory, "America's Foremost . . . Aeronaut," 36.

⁸ *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Aug. 7, 1849; *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], July 5, 1887; *Chicago Tribune*, July 6, 1887; Schroer, *A True History*, 5-7.

spectators, explaining the reason for the delay and thanking the crowd for accepting it without question. Then he announced that the performance would be made as a free ascension, a feat never before attempted. Assistants released the ropes holding the balloon and set it free. Schroer described the jump in this manner:

When all was ready for the jump and a height satisfactory to Mr. Baldwin had been attained, he dropped the silk handkerchief, the signal agreed upon; then, seizing the ring of the parachute with both hands, he jumped from the top of the basket into space.



From Duke Schroer, *A True History of the Daring Aeronaut* (Quincy, 1887)

BALDWIN'S BALLOON

This artist's sketch shows Thomas S. Baldwin preparing for a jump from his gas balloon in 1887.

wheat field exactly one mile and a half from the spot where he started. Marks on the ground showed that he came down so rapidly that he slid and rolled with his parachute thirty feet.

The immense crowd at the fair grounds had stood spell-bound up to this point, and when they saw the first sudden drop of the closed parachute, and a second later saw it open and catch the air, swaying back and forth, the intrepid daring of the man filled every breast with wonder. The frail white dome of the parachute seemed a small thing to be entrusted with a man's life, and one unfilled fold flapped ominously, but Mr. Baldwin could be plainly seen holding to the ring to which the cords of the parachute were attached, and it was apparent to all that the descent would be made in safety. The balloon, freed of the aeronaut's weight, rapidly ascended and receded, growing smaller to the vision, until it was lost to sight behind a distant cloud. It was recovered the next morning at Perry, Pike County, about fifty miles distant from Quincy.

The jump was made when the balloon was just east of Thirty-sixth street, or one-half mile from the place of ascent, and Mr. Baldwin landed in a

The descent was made in three minutes and twenty seconds, or 200 seconds. This would demonstrate that the balloon was somewhat over 4,000 feet from the ground when the jump was made. Mr. Baldwin has carefully studied the subject and knows exactly how much resistance will be offered to the air by a parachute of a given size with a given weight attached. The one used in the jump was constructed to fall with Mr. Baldwin twenty feet per second when expanded. The descent occupied 200 seconds, which makes the height 4,000 feet when the parachute filled. Something must be added to this, because the parachute did not offer its full resistance to the wind on account of a fold in it, and at least 100 feet for the fall at the start, which was unchecked by the parachute. The actual distance above the ground when the jump was made was between 4,000 and 4,500 feet.

It was a sight never before witnessed on this continent, and one never to be forgotten. Mr. Baldwin never jumped from a flying balloon before, and he is the only aeronaut living who has a parachute which he dare trust his life to at such a distance above the earth.⁹

Following the Quincy exhibition, Baldwin assisted by his brother, set out on a tour of the East, including many performances at Rockaway Beach, then the amusement center of New York City. He completed jumps in Rochester, Syracuse, Buffalo and many of the larger cities of New England before returning to Quincy for a second exhibition in Singleton Park on October 12, followed by a tour of the Midwest.¹⁰

While performing in New York during August and September, Baldwin developed an acquaintance with a fellow showman, Captain Jack Crawford, the famed government scout of "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show," recently returned from a prosperous tour in



From Duke Schroer, *A True History of the Daring Aeronaut* (Quincy, 1887)

THOMAS S. BALDWIN, 1887

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11, reprinting press clippings on the Eastern tour.

England. Both Crawford and "Buffalo Bill" Cody were greatly impressed with the parachute jump and urged Baldwin to take the act abroad. "Hire a first class manager and go to England," Cody advised. "You'd be a sensation in Alexandra Palace." The idea of an exhibition tour in Europe appealed to Baldwin, but numerous engagements booked throughout the United States prevented him from making the trip that fall.¹¹

Despite numerous exhibitions he somehow found time to court an attractive Quincy girl, Caroline Pool, the daughter of a prominent real estate man. After the close of the exhibition season Baldwin returned to Quincy and there, on December 7, 1887, he and "Carrie" Pool were married.¹²

The first warm days of the following spring set the exhibition business in motion again for another season. Bids for performances poured into Baldwin's headquarters in Quincy in such great volume that he could not fill all requests. He opened the season at Minneapolis in May and continued a busy schedule through June. He was riding the crest of a tremendous wave of popularity.

Although he had received requests for performances in practically every large city in the United States and engagements were booked for the balance of the summer, Tom decided to heed Jack Crawford's advice and take his act to England.¹³ His unfulfilled engagements in the United States were left to Sam Baldwin, a "high-wire, slack wire, and trapeze" performer surpassed in skill only by his brother. Sam, known professionally as "Signor Yates," agreed to take over the engagements. He used his brother's name, since the attraction of the performance depended as much on the fame of Tom Baldwin as on the daring and skill required for the feat itself.¹⁴

¹¹ *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Aug. 21, 1949.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ The term "Daredevil Parachute Jumper" appears on stationery used by Baldwin in 1888, in the author's possession.

¹⁴ Schroer, *A True History*, 30.

Sam had never made a parachute jump, but he traveled to Fort Madison, Iowa, the next stop on Tom's schedule, prepared to fulfil the terms of a contract with a local hotel operator. Severe winds, however, ripped and deflated the balloon and Sam could not make the jump. A few days later, however, he completed his first jump at a horse racing meet at Keokuk, Iowa, coming down in the middle of the Mississippi River. He then performed in Louisville and Paducah, Kentucky, before returning for a performance in Quincy. After this Sam earned a reputation for skill, courage and reliability independent of the fame of his brother, and performed for many years under his own name.¹⁵

On a whirlwind tour of England during late July, August and September, 1888, Captain Tom Baldwin made thirty-eight ascensions and parachute drops in the larger cities—at least eleven in London. The first performance of the tour, in London's famed Alexandra Palace on July 29, was described by an enthusiastic press as "one of the greatest sensations ever offered to the British people." Parliament adjourned especially to allow its members to witness the performance. Following the tenth jump at Alexandra Palace before a vast crowd including the leading nobility, the Balloon Society of Great Britain presented the famed aeronaut with the Society's first gold medal in recognition of his invention of the parachute, "one of the greatest discoveries in the practical application of aeronautical science."¹⁶

A short time later the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) attended the exhibition at Alexandra Palace with his family. As he talked with Baldwin, a boy interrupted to tell the aeronaut that the balloon was ready for the ascension. At this time Baldwin used hot air balloons; therefore the ascensions could not be delayed, or the air would cool and the balloon could not rise high enough to permit a jump.

¹⁵ *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Aug. 21, 1949.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; Gregory, "America's Foremost . . . Aeronaut," 38.

Realizing the need for haste, the aeronaut remarked to his royal guest, "If you'll excuse me a few minutes I'll come right back." Turning to his balloon, he grasped the ring mount securely and ordered the attendants to release the ropes. A few minutes later he plunged earthward handing to the ring of the parachute, and by luck, skill, or a combination of both struck the ground within a few feet of where the Prince stood and took up the conversation as if nothing had happened. The Prince was so impressed that he presented Baldwin with a large diamond ring from his finger.¹⁷

From England Baldwin traveled to the Continent where news of his successes brought demands for performances in almost every large city of every country. He continued on to South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, ending his world tour in the winter of 1888 and returning to Quincy.¹⁸

Throughout the tour his performances were as profitable as they were daring and breathtaking; net profits from the trip reportedly totaled about \$65,000. Royal families, government officials and societies conferred jewels, honors and titles on Baldwin; a French scientific society presented him with a ribbon. The English composer Felix Burns dedicated his "Cloud Land Waltz" to the famed aeronaut, whose picture appeared on the ornate cover. In Spain the Archbishop of Barcelona presented Baldwin with a gold medal bearing the archiepiscopal arms on one side, and on the reverse an inscription in Spanish, "For bravery, daring and respect for religion."¹⁹

Tom Baldwin thrived on the intensely active life demanded by his profession. He was not the type of man who could retire while the public still demanded exhibitions. As a balloonist and parachutist he was probably at the height

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; Kruckman, "Baldwin, 'The Luckiest' Aviator," 331.

¹⁸ Gregory, "America's Foremost . . . Aeronaut," 38; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat Magazine*, Nov. 6, 1904.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Aug. 1949; interview with Duke Schroer; Kruckman, "Baldwin, 'The Luckiest' Aviator," 331-32.

of his career in the spring and summer of 1889. An aeronaut of little more than ten years' experience, he had outperformed such renowned veterans as King, then in his thirty-eighth year as a balloonist, and Brooks, a veteran of thirty-nine years. Baldwin was probably not quite thirty years old in 1889, less than half the age of either King or Brooks, and still extremely agile in spite of increasing weight—a serious problem because of the limited lifting capacity of the balloons he employed. At that time he weighed 210 pounds; two years earlier he had been forty pounds lighter.

Realizing that he was becoming too heavy to jump safely, Baldwin wrote to William Ivy (professional name William DeIvy), a tight-rope walker and acrobat with whom he had worked in traveling circuses several years earlier, to ask him to form an exhibition team as the Baldwin Brothers. Ivy, six years younger than Baldwin, stood only five feet three and a half inches in height, weighed only 112 pounds on an average, and possessed limited experience with hot air balloons. In the fall of 1889 he traveled to Quincy and joined Tom in staging exhibitions throughout the western states as Tom and Ivy Baldwin, balloonists and parachutists. Tom assumed an active role in the presentation of the show, but left most of the aerial work to his partner.²⁰

After their engagements in the West the Baldwins sailed for Hawaii for a brief stop, and then to Japan, reaching Nagasaki in the spring of 1890. They "jumped" their way through a triumphant tour including every large city in Japan, with a special performance for the Emperor, who subsequently entertained the aeronauts. Each exhibition attracted thousands, sometimes hundreds of thousands, of curious spectators.

In addition to parachute jumps, Ivy performed daring leaps from a 120-foot tower into a net stretched several feet above the ground. These appealed especially to Oriental

²⁰ *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Aug. 14, 1949.

audiences. Native craftsmen were especially adept at tower construction; using bamboo sections and rough fiber rope, they could put up a remarkably solid structure in very little time. The Baldwins guyed these structures with wires to prevent them from toppling in high winds.

Leaving Japan, they performed in Shanghai and Hong Kong, China; Singapore, Straits Settlements; Saigon, Indo-China; three cities of Java; Rangoon, Burma; and Calcutta, Madras and other cities of India. They decided against a contemplated performance in Vladivostok, Siberia, after learning that their prospective Russian agents intended to keep sixty-five per cent of the receipts.²¹

In late spring, 1891, Baldwin reluctantly canceled the many unfulfilled contracts calling for exhibitions in the Orient and returned to Quincy with Mrs. Baldwin. Tom Baldwin, Jr., their first child, was to be born that year, and Mrs. Baldwin insisted that her baby should be born not in the Orient but in the familiar surroundings of her Quincy home.²² Ivy Baldwin remained in the Orient as a circus acrobat until he returned to Quincy in September.

The approaching birth of an heir apparently induced Tom Baldwin to give up his vagabond existence. After "knocking about" all his life, risking his neck for the amusement of gaping throngs, he momentarily yearned for the quiet life and comfort of a family man. In September, 1891, he purchased thirty-two acres of land at Maine and Thirtieth streets in Quincy, formerly known as Singleton Park. For the next six years he and Ivy operated this as an amusement park similar to Elitch's Gardens in Denver, Colorado, the scene of many of the Baldwins' exhibitions. Baldwin Park had newly constructed bowling alleys, an amphitheater, a renovated hotel, a unique half-mile race track shaped like a figure eight, and other facilities for amusing all callers, what-

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

ever their taste. On infrequent occasions Tom and Ivy resumed exhibitions in distant parts of the country.²³

At this time Sam and Tom Baldwin became partners in the Baldwin Brothers Company, manufacturers of all types of balloons and everything aeronautical. Some balloons were manufactured in the Old Annex Building in Baldwin Park; others were cut and sewed in a large storeroom on the third floor of a building on lower Maine Street across from the present site of the Hickman Hotel in downtown Quincy.²⁴ Baldwin Brothers made not only the 30,000-35,000-cubic-foot balloons used for the frequent ascensions and parachute jumps at Baldwin Park, but all sizes of balloons, large and small, to sell to aeronauts throughout the United States and foreign countries.

Tom and Ivy left the amusement park under the able management of Carrie Baldwin while they went to Mexico City to stage balloon ascensions in the early fall of 1892. When they returned the following spring they discovered that during their absence the property had been nearly leveled by a cyclone. Though much money and hard work was expended in rebuilding the park, it did not take on the luster of former days. Disheartened, Ivy decided to break the four-year-old partnership to go West in search of more profitable exhibition work.²⁵ Tom continued the operation of Baldwin Park, but engaged in other work more frequently. During the

²³ *Ibid.*; *Quincy Journal*, Sept. 21, 1891; clippings from *Denver Republican*, Aug. 10, 1891, and *Colorado Evening Sun* [Denver], Aug. 9, 1893, in Ivy Baldwin's scrapbook, owned by his daughter Mrs. Harold F. Newman of Denver (microfilm copy in author's possession).

²⁴ *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Aug. 14, 1949.

²⁵ After leaving Quincy in the spring of 1893 Ivy Baldwin went to Denver and performed ascensions in Elitch's Gardens the following season. For the next four years he served in the balloon section of the Army Signal Corps, taking an active part as a balloon observer in the battle of Santiago during the Spanish-American War. Once his balloon was shot down, but he escaped injury. Ivy then spent several years building and flying balloons, dirigibles and airplanes. In later years he resided near Eldorado Springs, Colorado, entertaining visitors by walking a 300-foot cable across South Boulder Creek Canyon. His last performance was August 2, 1948, two days after his eighty-second birthday. He died Oct. 8, 1953. *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Aug. 14, 1949, Oct. 9, 1953.

World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago that summer he supervised the exhibitions of the government war balloon on display there.²⁶ Also about this time he superintended balloon ascensions for the War Department and conducted tests to determine performances of spherical balloons in flight.

By 1897 he decided to give up direct supervision of Baldwin Park and to return to California, then the center of aeronautical activity in the United States. Exhibitions were not so profitable as they had been a few years earlier; hundreds of young men, quick to recognize a chance to gain huge profits even at the risk of permanent or even fatal injury, purchased or made hot air balloons and silk parachutes with which to start careers as aeronauts. As performances became more numerous and more and more aeronauts crowded the exhibition circuits, the fees for jumps dropped steadily. At the height of Baldwin's career each jump netted a small fortune—the standard rate was \$1 a foot, but some performances were made for \$1,500 or fifty per cent of the gate receipts. Within a few years parachute drops were as common as balloon ascensions and the fee fell to \$100 or less.²⁷

During his hundreds of balloon ascensions Baldwin had drifted helplessly at the whim of shifting winds, unable to navigate a true course. He had dreamed of the time when he could drive an airship through the sky to a definite destination, and soon after establishing Baldwin Park had actually built an airplane only to lay it aside when he discovered that an efficient lightweight motor was unobtainable. He had returned to balloons and parachutes for a livelihood, but his interest in controllable flight remained.²⁸

A few years later news of recent successes with motor-powered balloons or dirigibles in Europe again turned Baldwin's inventive mind to this subject and about 1900 he began

²⁶ *Aeronautics*, I (Dec., 1893), 30; (May, 1894), 98.

²⁷ *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Aug. 21, 1949.

²⁸ *Quincy Daily Journal*, Sept. 24, 1891; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Sept. 11, 1910; Kruckman, "Baldwin, 'The Luckiest' Aviator," 332.

experiments, pouring into this work much of the money he had accumulated from parachute exhibitions. The first product of his experiments, a foot-powered dirigible navigable only in an awkward fashion, proved of limited value either for practical use or as a new medium of entertainment.²⁹ A successful dirigible had to be motor-driven and capable of navigating in light to moderate winds.

The construction of a new gas envelope, 105 feet in length, with lifting power sufficient to accommodate the combined weight of operator, motor and airship, heightened Baldwin's search for an efficient lightweight internal combustion motor. He stripped a new automobile and installed the motor in the airship, but this huge mass of brass weighed much more than anticipated. Even after the envelope was enlarged, the motor proved balky and unreliable.

One hot summer day of 1903, in Los Angeles, after struggling with a stubborn motor without success for more than two hours while a large crowd grew impatient waiting for an announced dirigible flight, Baldwin's ear "long trained in disillusion" picked up the steady purr of a two-cylinder motor near the edge of the exhibition ground. His searching eyes picked out a motorcycle near the ticket-taker, and he sprinted to the gate, eager to examine the motor he had long dreamed of installing in his dirigible.³⁰

From the young owner of the motorcycle the Captain learned that cycle and motor were the design and product of Glenn H. Curtiss, of Hammondsport, New York. The name meant nothing to the veteran aeronaut, but he knew a good motor when he heard it; if Curtiss could make engines like this, he was just the man to produce the lightweight, high-powered engine Baldwin sought for his dirigible. He wrote Curtiss requesting information about such a motor and an

²⁹ Gregory, "America's Foremost . . . Aeronaut," 38.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Alden Hatch, *Glenn Curtiss: Pioneer of Naval Aviation* (Julian Messner, Inc., New York, 1942), 5-6; Glenn H. Curtiss and others, *The Curtiss Aviation Book* (Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1912), 29.

estimate of the price. Several day later came a letter stating that the Curtiss plant could build the dirigible motor. The price quoted seemed so reasonable that Baldwin immediately sent an order for rush delivery.³¹

Day after day, at work on the dirigible while awaiting the arrival of the motor, Baldwin dreamed of flying the big airship gracefully through the sky, turning, twisting, rising or diving as he wished, with a steady purr of power driving the craft on its course. Weeks passed, then months; summer, fall and winter, without delivery of the motor. Finally Baldwin gave the Curtiss plant notice of his arrival in a few days, for he wanted action, even if it entailed a trip across the continent to the Curtiss plant.³²

Curtiss, though anxious to build the dirigible motor, had hesitated to interrupt the order of his small business devoted principally to the manufacture of motorcycles. Consequently, when Baldwin reached Hammondsport, Curtiss greeted his visitor with the surprising information that work had not yet begun on the motor. However, the young manufacturer's enthusiasm and seemingly sound ideas instantly won the aeronaut's friendship, and the next day the two, with technicians from the plant, set out to build the dirigible motor. Through the rest of the winter and into the spring a small two-cylinder five-horsepower air-cooled motor capable of driving the Baldwin airship gradually assumed shape.

Returning to Oakland with his prize, Baldwin found that his mechanics had the dirigible in tiptop shape awaiting installation of the motor. He felt new confidence in his ability to fly the machine. With a reliable motor, now at hand, the huge cigar-shaped gas envelope of varnished Japanese silk, fifty-two feet long and seventeen feet in diameter, could be driven through the air in any direction at the will of its pilot.³³

³¹ *Ibid.*; Hatch, *Glenn Curtiss*, 41.

³² *Ibid.*, 43.

³³ Thomas S. Baldwin, "My Conquest of the Air," *Success Magazine*, VIII (Jan., 1905), 26.

The motor had to be in perfect balance, situated precisely at the center of gravity of the framework beneath the gas bag, in order that the operator could control the upward or downward angle of the moving craft by moving forward or backward along the car. Weeks passed while the Captain struggled to establish that "very delicate balance." Finally the work was completed and the airship, named the "California Arrow," was ready for a trial flight.

On that memorable August 3, 1904, before an assemblage of thousands of curious spectators in Oakland, "Uncle Tom," the grand old man of aeronautics though still in his forties, achieved the century-old dream of almost every aeronaut. For the first time in the United States a man ascended in a lighter-than-air craft, sailed along a predetermined course and returned to the point from which he started, while maintaining complete control of the craft throughout the flight.³⁴

Baldwin and the "California Arrow" arrived in St. Louis in September, 1904, more than a month before the aeronautical meet of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was to open the last week of October. In the meantime he and his mechanics rebuilt the framework of the dirigible and strengthened its construction to provide greater safety for the pilot. These changes, however, added weight to the machine, and the Captain discovered that at 225 pounds he was too heavy to operate the remodeled craft safely. A. Roy Knabenshue, a Cleveland aeronaut of limited experience, had longed for the chance to pilot the dirigible, and when he heard of Baldwin's plight begged for the opportunity to do so. Baldwin realized that the younger man, then twenty-nine years old and weighing only 130 pounds, could quickly pick up the art of handling the big ship, so he agreed.³⁵

On the first flight of the "California Arrow" at St. Louis

³⁴ *Ibid.*; a fanciful account in Hatch, *Glenn Curtiss*, 56-58.

³⁵ Baldwin, "My Conquest of the Air," 26; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Nov. 4, 5, 6, 1904.



BALDWIN'S "CALIFORNIA ARROW"

The scene is the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904. A. Roy Knabenshue is the man on the catwalk from which the dirigible was operated.

Knabenshue ascended without difficulty from the aeronautical concourse in Forest Park and proceeded to navigate out over the fairgrounds, when the motor suddenly stopped. Without power, the big dirigible floated with the prevailing air currents; the pilot was unable to alter the direction, nor could he valve the gas bag to descend until clear of the residential area of the city. Ninety minutes after ascending, Knabenshue brought the "California Arrow" to earth on the David Chartrad farm, on the Illinois side of the Mississippi a mile and a half south of East St. Louis, ten miles from his starting point. The airship, deflated and packed on a farm wagon, was carried back to the fairgrounds by a farmer living near Denver Side, who received \$10 for his services.³⁶

Six days later, on October 31, Captain Baldwin attempted to pilot the "California Arrow" on a short trial flight. Soon

³⁶ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Oct. 26, 1904; Carl Dienstbach, "The California Arrow," *Aeronautics*, II (Jan., 1908), 39.

after leaving the ground, following several turns about the field, the airship dipped unexpectedly and the nose rammed into the ground with sufficient force to disable the propeller. Within an hour repairs were completed and the airship emerged from the shelter prepared to ascend, this time with Knabenshue as pilot. At the command "Let her go!" assistants and handlers cut the guy ropes.³⁷ The craft shot upward, heading west over the heads of the crowd. A turn of the rudder swung the ship around to the south. With a rush of speed it raced through the air, but not high enough to clear the fence around the concourse. The crowd gasped; someone shouted, "It will be dashed to pieces!" But the pilot adjusted the angle of flight, the nose pointed upward, and Knabenshue tipped his hat to the wildly yelling crowd as the big ship passed above the fence.³⁸

This momentous flight erased forever the doubts of the many persons who hesitated to agree with Baldwin's faith in dirigible flight. In twenty-eight minutes, mainly at a height of 2,000 feet, the airship traveled three and a half miles, excluding short circular maneuvers, and returned to a landing within a hundred feet of its starting position. For nearly half the flight the "California Arrow" advanced steadily against a headwind of eight miles an hour. This time the motor functioned perfectly.³⁹

On November 1 Knabenshue maneuvered the "Arrow" over the western portion of the Exposition grounds and after a thirty-six-minute flight alighted in the stadium adjoining the aerial concourse before an assembly of 36,000 cheering spectators.⁴⁰ This was, according to an announcement by Baldwin, the final flight to test the "dirigibility" of the airship; future flights would be planned for distances of at least fifteen miles

³⁷ *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Nov. 1, 1904.

³⁸ Elbert T. Dewey, "An Airship's Success," *Technical World*, II (Dec., 1904), 400.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 481.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 481-82; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Nov. 2, 1904.

and, providing sufficient gas could be procured along the route, Knabenshue would attempt a flight from St. Louis to his home in Toledo, Ohio, at the close of the week.⁴¹

However, during a flight the next day the motor stopped and the dirigible drifted to a landing on a farm a few miles west of St. Louis. Baldwin and Knabenshue decided to tow the inflated craft back to the fairgrounds rather than deflate it and lose the time needed for reinflation. Near the boundary of the grounds, however, overhead trolley wires hung too low to permit passage of the airship; consequently Baldwin decided to hurdle the wires by passing the two tow ropes, one at a time, over them.

Everything would have gone as planned had not some of the handlers misunderstood an order to release one of the ropes. In the faint light of approaching night the front rope was passed over the wires as planned, but before the handlers secured it firmly the rear rope was released. Without the restraining ropes the "California Arrow" shot into the air and soon vanished from sight. Miraculously it was recovered the following day about sixteen miles northwest of St. Louis with only slight damage as a result of this solo flight. But Baldwin and his assistants had to deflate the gas bag completely and detach it from the rigging before transporting the craft back to the aerial concourse.⁴² This mishap ended the flights of the "California Arrow" at the St. Louis World's Fair.

After a brief trip to New York Baldwin returned to Oakland to work out improvements on his airship and to stage exhibitions on the West Coast. In December, 1904, Knabenshue made a perfect flight of two hours' duration at Los Angeles in the "California Arrow." By the close of the year the ship had completed a total of sixteen flights beginning with the one at Oakland on August 3.⁴³

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 11, 12, 1904.

⁴³ Gregory, "America's Foremost . . . Aeronaut," 39.

In the next three years Baldwin, Knabenshue and Lincoln Beachey completed 170 flights—25 in 1905, 55 in 1906 and 92 in 1907—in five different airships: the “California Arrow” (built 1904), the “City of Los Angeles” and the “City of Portland” (1905), the second “California Arrow” (1906) and the “Twentieth Century” (June, 1907). These airships returned to their starting points under power in 97 per cent of all flights.⁴⁴

The San Francisco earthquake of 1906 dealt the Captain a staggering blow—the destruction of the first “California Arrow,” the “City of Los Angeles” and the “City of Portland,” with his workshop, spherical balloons and equipment. Insurance on aircraft was out of the question then, so the full burden of the loss of more than \$80,000 fell on Baldwin’s shoulders.⁴⁵ Fortunately, however, some time before the disaster he had sent the new “California Arrow” to Hammondsport to be equipped with a new motor at the Curtiss plant. With his West Coast equipment destroyed, Baldwin decided to move his operations to Hammondsport where he would have use of the Curtiss plant for experimental work. During the next few years a hangar called “The Aerodrome” on the shore of Lake Keuka served as his headquarters and workshop.⁴⁶

In the fall of 1907 Baldwin appeared in St. Louis with the “California Arrow” and the “Twentieth Century” to participate in the first “Aerial Derby” in the United States, a feature attraction, along with the Gordon-Bennett balloon trophy race, of the St. Louis Exposition. Four airships competed for prizes totaling \$2,500 in a race over a 1,306-mile course extending from the airfield to the Blair monument and back.⁴⁷ On the basis of past performance Baldwin was favored

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Sept. 4, 1949.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Dienstbach, “The California Arrow,” 41; “Flying Machine and Dirigible Competitions at St. Louis,” *Aeronautics*, I (Nov., 1907), 10.

to win, but he faced three of the best aeronauts of the time, all his former pupils: Lincoln Beachey, Jack Dallas and Horace B. Wild.

On October 23 Baldwin fought a strong side wind to complete the flight in 9 minutes 30 seconds, averaging only a little over eight miles per hour. The motor of Wild's "Comet" stopped and the powerless ship landed in Forest Park a half mile away. Just as Dallas's "Stroebel" approached the turn the drive-chain connecting the motor and the propeller suddenly snapped, leaving his airship also powerless to drift with the wind to a landing in an open field. Beachey in the "Beachey" traveled over the course in a nearly straight line, completing the flight in 7 minutes 15 seconds. A strong headwind forced Baldwin to abandon a second trial before reaching the monument.⁴⁸

This failure induced Baldwin to attempt to transfer the gas envelope of the "California Arrow" to the frame of the "Twentieth Century," propelled by a twenty-horsepower motor and two counterrotating propellers, a design capable of producing far greater power than the "Arrow." However, the balance could not be adjusted properly and the envelope had to be reattached to the old frame. With the restored "California Arrow" Baldwin, without the strong wind of the first trials, surpassed Beachey's time by ten seconds. Dallas, however, crossed the finish line in 6 minutes 10 seconds, and Beachey then covered the course in 4 minutes 40 seconds, a record average speed of nearly seventeen miles per hour. Unlucky Wild failed to complete a single trial.

The Aero Club of St. Louis, sponsor of the race, declared Beachey the winner with \$1,500 prize money, Dallas second with \$750 and Baldwin third with \$250. Fourteen-year-old Cromwell Dixon received a special purse of \$375 for flights in his "Skycycle," a foot-powered, airscrew-driven dirigible.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 11; II (Jan., 1908), 41.

⁴⁹ "Flying Machine and Dirigible Competitions at St. Louis," 13.

Baldwin's successful construction of an airship for the United States Army Signal Corps in 1908, coupled with reports of Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin's work in Germany, convinced the Captain and a small group of enthusiasts that a dirigible passenger service could be established between New York and Boston. Charles J. Glidden, a wealthy automobile manufacturer, financed the organization of the American Aerial Navigation Company of Boston to conduct the line, but the scheme was abandoned before the company went into operation.⁵⁰ The American public was not ready to support a passenger airline in 1908, nor for many years thereafter.

Nevertheless Baldwin tried twice more in the next six years to establish such a line. In June, 1910, news of Zeppelin's successful demonstration of a passenger-carrying dirigible started Baldwin on an unsuccessful search for financial backing for a dirigible airline between New York and Chicago. Four years later, as chief engineer for the Connecticut Aircraft Company of Boston, Baldwin built a monster dirigible for a projected airline between New York and Albany. This scheme, however, like its predecessors, failed before the company could begin operations.⁵¹

Baldwin returned to exhibition work in the autumn of 1908 and continued through most of the following season. However, his interest in dirigibles declined steadily and within two years he abandoned them to design and fly airplanes similar to the machines produced by Curtiss. The Aerial Experiment Association, founded in 1907 by Curtiss, Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, F. W. Baldwin, J. A. D. McCurdy and Thomas Selfridge "to build a practical aeroplane which will

⁵⁰ *Chicago Record-Herald*, Aug. 18, 19, 1908. For information on Baldwin and the government airship see *Aeronautics*, II (Jan., 1908), 24-26, (March, 1908), 26, (April, 1908), 28-29; Jerome S. Fanciulli, "The First Government Airship," *ibid.*, III (Sept., 1908), 13; George Owen Squier, "The Present Status of Military Aeronautics," *American Society of Mechanical Engineers Journal*, XXX (1908), 1621-23; Armand Sulvain Barkeley, "Captain Thomas S. Baldwin: The Way He Builds Airships," *Fly*, I (Feb., 1908), 8; *New York Times*, Aug. 8, 15, 16, 1908.

⁵¹ *Chicago Evening Post*, June 24, 1910; *Aero and Hydro*, VIII (Apr. 4, 1914), 3.

carry a man and be driven through the air by its own power," moved from Badduc, Nova Scotia to Hammondsport in January, 1908 and set up an experimental workshop in the Curtiss plant. Baldwin's curiosity and love of innovations soon led to membership in the Association.⁵²

By the time Baldwin's work on the government dirigible was out of the way Curtiss had begun his rise to fame as an aviator. Quite naturally—perhaps almost from habit—Baldwin followed the activities of his younger companion and on several occasions joined Curtiss on his flights, helping in the preparations and offering constant encouragement. Many of his dirigible exhibitions in 1909 were made in company with Curtiss and his plane. At Chicago's Hawthorne race track each made flights on October 16 and 17 in spite of unfavorable winds. On this occasion Curtiss completed the first airplane flights in Illinois.⁵³

In the spring of 1910 Baldwin built the "Red Devil," a pusher-type biplane similar to those built by Curtiss and other members of the Aerial Experiment Association. In the next five years he achieved fame and some fortune as an aviator, with exhibitions in cities and countries where he had performed balloon ascensions, parachute jumps and dirigible flights during the previous thirty years.

In the summer of 1914, as Europe prepared for World War I, Baldwin went abroad again as an observer to study the role of dirigibles and airplanes in warfare. As a result of what he saw in Europe he became an outspoken advocate of greater emphasis on aircraft as an active and effective arm of the military forces.⁵⁴

After building a dirigible for the United States Navy in

⁵² The work of the Aerial Experiment Association is described in Curtiss and others, *The Curtiss Aviation Book*, 37-50. See also Clara Studer, *Sky Storming Yankee: The Life of Glenn Curtiss* (Stackpole Sons, New York, 1937), 87-133, 140-48.

⁵³ *Aeronautics*, V (Dec., 1909), 216; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Oct. 18, 1909; *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 16, 17, 18, 1909.

⁵⁴ Thomas S. Baldwin, "Warfare and Aeronautics," *Club Journal*, VI (Nov., 1914), 546.

1915 Baldwin assumed charge of the Atlantic Coast Aeronautical Station at Newport News, Virginia, established by the Curtiss Aeroplane Company to train Signal Corps Reserve flyers. In the spring of 1916, when hostilities on the Mexican border appeared imminent, the Aero Club of America, with the co-operation of affiliated clubs, civic groups and patriotic citizens, created a national aeroplane fund which was used to send civilian and military aviators to Newport News for special training directed by Captain Baldwin and a staff of expert instructors.⁵⁵ On September 6 the Army announced that the Newport News camp would serve as the principal training station for military aviators, and within the following few months more than a thousand Army aviators were graduated from the school.⁵⁶

Upon the entry of the United States into the war Baldwin volunteered for duty with the aviation section of the Army. On April 25, 1917 he was commissioned captain in the Signal Officers' Reserve Corps. He remained at Newport News in charge of training until August 31, and was assigned to Akron, Ohio, with the aviation section on September 24.⁵⁷ Nine months later he was promoted to major in charge of balloon inspection for the procurement division of the Air Corps, retaining this post until discharged from active service on October 25, 1919.⁵⁸

Major Baldwin then accepted an appointment as district manager of balloon inspection and production in the procurement division of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company of Akron. He held this position until his death on May 17, 1923 in Buffalo, New York, while on a business trip.⁵⁹

In every phase of aeronautics Baldwin had won recogni-

⁵⁵ *Flying*, V (April, 1916), 123.

⁵⁶ *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Sept. 11, 1949.

⁵⁷ *Air Service Journal*, I (Aug. 30, 1917), 251, (Sept. 17, 1917), 386; Gardner, comp., *Who's Who in American Aeronautics*, 22.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Quincy Herald-Whig*, Sept. 11, 1949.



Photo courtesy Mrs. Tom Baldwin, Quincy, Illinois

CAPTAIN BALDWIN IN HIS "RED DEVIL"

The great aeronaut's career developed from unguided balloons, to dirigibles, to this pusher-type biplane which he built in 1910.

tion as a pioneer and leader. His keen mind developed the practical flexible parachute, the non-rigid dirigible capable of sustained flight under complete control, and countless innovations and inventions for balloons and airplanes, all of importance in the advancement of flight. These achievements, unequalled by any other one man, however, were overshadowed in significance by the dramatic role of Tom Baldwin the showman, the entertainer. The thousands who applauded his exploits as balloonist, parachutist, dirigible pilot and finally aviator forgot his name before long, but the idea remained that human flight might serve some practical purpose in the future.

Baldwin and countless hundreds of forgotten aeronauts awakened America to air-consciousness. Though this remained almost dormant for years, when the time came it responded to the need for public support of air travel. Thomas Scott Baldwin was more than just an aeronaut; he was the greatest, the "Columbus of the Air."

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Prof. [Silas M.] BROOKS, the great American Aeronaut, made a successful ascension at Peoria about 5 P.M. on Thursday [July 31, 1856]. He had a tent, much like that of a circus, which would accommodate five thousand persons; but it was not filled by some four thousand. Prof. B. made a speech just before he ascended, giving a brief sketch of aeronautics and those principles of science which he had employed in the sixty successful ascents he had made. He said it was the smallest audience he had ever had.

The balloon was the size of a very large stack of hay, and of course about its shape when made in its usual form. Its material consists of the best silk fabric, covered with a net work of small cords, to which at the lower extremity is attached some dozen others half the size of a bed cord. These held the balloon to the ground while its inflation was in progress. When ready, each rope was manned, the bags of sand which held the cords to the ground were removed, and the balloon placed over the car into which the aeronaut had entered and firmly

attached thereto. The car is a basket not very unlike a cradle and not more than a third larger, to which is attached hoops and cords, which when taut reach the breast of the aerial voyager. When all was ready, the men at the ropes released their hold, and away heavenward the great *Hercules* went. As he rose from the ground the Prof. bade his audience "good night," and gracefully and majestically ascended, waving his little flag in response to the cheers below. When about a mile up car and aeronaut invisible, and balloon but the size of a full moon, his little flag was seen waving in the cool realms of his upper home. After floating northward three to four miles, the balloon gradually descended, and lighted at a favorable place in the woods—coming near landing in a tree top. The aeronaut was back to the city before dark, safe and sound. It was altogether an interesting scene. Prof. B. next ascends in Ottawa. The performances closed with a brilliant display of fire-works in the evening.—*Illinois Gazette* [Lacon], Aug. 2, 1856.

RAILROAD STRIKERS IN COURT

Unreported Contempt Cases in Illinois in 1877

BY ELWIN W. SIGMUND

EXPLODING across the most heavily industrialized part of the country during the depths of a long depression, the railroad strikes in the summer of 1877 catapulted the labor problem permanently into national prominence. The brief and bloody series of contests between unorganized wage-earners and their corporate employers raised many of the significant issues involved in subsequent controversies and developed some of the techniques used to settle disputes. One technique was forceful intervention by third parties. A pattern of suppression of strikes—by police, "citizens' committees," special United States deputy marshals, the National Guard, and federal troops—persisted for nearly a generation on the railroads, and far longer in other industries.

Even more important were the precedents established in the federal courts leading to the labor injunction. In two famous decisions handed down at Chicago and Indianapolis, Circuit Judge Thomas Drummond held that strikers were guilty of contempt of court for interfering with the operation

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of railroads in receivership, and sentenced them to brief terms in prison.¹ While Drummond's opinions clearly show the overriding influence of his social and economic predilections upon his conclusions of law,² the technical basis for his decisions was the unprecedented view that the strikers had disobeyed the court's orders to the receivers to operate the railroads. "He would have looked in vain for decisions indicating that a judicial command could be *disobeyed* except by a person to whom it was addressed."³

Several similar contempt cases were decided at Springfield, Illinois, by Drummond's colleague in the Seventh Circuit, District Judge Samuel Hubbel Treat.⁴ The first contempt case that came before each judge was determined on the same day, so neither deserves sole credit for setting a precedent. However, Treat failed to write opinions on his decisions, thereby relegating them to the near oblivion of dusty court records and newspaper files.

Twenty-six of the strikers brought before Judge Treat were arrested in Urbana. All were employees of the Indianapolis, Bloomington and Western Railway (now part of the New York Central), which had shops there. The road had gone into receivership December 1, 1874, owing back wages

¹ *Secor v. Toledo, Peoria and Warsaw Railway*, 21 Fed. Cas. 968, 971 (C.C.N.D. Ill., two opinions: finding defendants guilty and imposing sentences, July 31, 1877; remitting sentences, Aug. 29, 1877); *King et al. v. Ohio and Mississippi Railway*, 14 Fed. Cas. 539 (C.C. Ind., Aug. 3, 1877). Judge Walter Q. Gresham, District of Indiana, disqualified himself from hearing the latter case because of his prominent role in suppressing the strikes.

² For an excellent analysis of the opinions see Walter Nelles, "A Strike and Its Legal Consequences—An Examination of the Receivership Precedent for the Labor Injunction," *Yale Law Journal*, XL (Feb., 1931), 507-54.

³ *Ibid.*, 535, n. 8.

⁴ The Seventh Circuit includes Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin. Drummond (1809-1890) was judge of the District of Illinois (1850-1855), judge of the Northern District of Illinois (1855-1869) and Circuit Judge (1869-1884). Gresham (1832-1895) was judge of the District of Indiana (1869-1883) and succeeded Drummond as Circuit Judge (1884-1893). Samuel Hubbel Treat (1811-1887) served as judge of the Southern District of Illinois from its creation in 1855 until his death. In 1877 the district encompassed all of the state below Peoria. Previously he had been a state circuit judge (1839-1841) and justice of the Illinois Supreme Court (1841-1855), chief justice the last seven years. He is not to be confused with Samuel Treat (1815-1902), judge of the Eastern District of Missouri (1857-1887). See the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

for at least a six-month period, and they were still unpaid at the time of the strike. Like railroads throughout the country, the I.B.&W. had also reduced wages drastically during the depression.⁵

The strikes of 1877, after firing up in the East on July 16, steamed westward loaded with the heavy freight of workers' grievances and rumbled into Illinois on Monday, July 23. Receiver George B. Wright of the I.B.&W. apparently sought Drummond's authorization to raise wages in order to forestall a walkout. But on Tuesday the judge told Robert G. Ingersoll, attorney for the railroad, that he would review the wage question and see that justice was done only if the employees "would attend to their work, and not join the strikers, or violate the law. . . . He would not yield anything to threats or violence."⁶

On Tuesday night meetings of I.B.&W. firemen, brakemen and shopmen at Urbana adopted resolutions demanding that the last wage cut be rescinded and that no one be discharged for serving on any committee of employees. Early Wednesday morning, before the deadline set for a reply from the company, the strike began. Every train was boarded and sidetracked. Although some of the shopmen quit work, very few appear to have joined the firemen and brakemen in stopping trains.⁷ The strike lasted three days and "was conducted in a peaceable manner, without violence, threats, or loud noise."⁸

During the blockade leading citizens of Urbana attempted to arrange a settlement. Thursday night the strikers agreed to allow passenger trains to run, and a committee also went to Indianapolis to confer with I.B.&W. officials, but accomplished nothing.⁹ General Superintendent Pease had al-

⁵ *Champaign County Gazette*, Dec. 6, 1876, May 16, Aug. 15, Sept. 26, 1877; *Inter Ocean* [Chicago], July 26, 1877.

⁶ *Inter Ocean*, July 25, 1877.

⁷ *Champaign County Gazette*, July 25, 1877.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1877.

⁹ *Ibid.*

ready telegraphed the receiver's answer to their demands—a repetition of Drummond's statement to Ingersoll. Pease had added a warning that "a strike or other unlawful interference with the trains will be a violation of the United States law, and the court will be bound to take notice of it and enforce the penalty."¹⁰

Strike action in Chicago, East St. Louis, and smaller communities such as Urbana rapidly paralyzed rail transportation in the state, and receivers reacted immediately by calling on Drummond for protection. From Chicago as early as Monday afternoon, July 23, he began instructing marshals in the Seventh Circuit to protect roads in receivership and to give notice that persons interfering with their operations would be subject to summary punishment for contempt. On July 25 he directed a general order (in the nature of a writ of assistance) to the marshal of the Northern District of Illinois to safeguard all property in the custody of the court. The judge reasoned that the marshal could call out a posse to assist him in enforcing the order, and if that proved inadequate, could seek military aid from the governor or the President. On Drummond's advice Judge Treat and District Judge Walter Q. Gresham issued similar orders on July 26 to the marshals at Springfield and Indianapolis.¹¹ In Washington that day President Hayes and Attorney General Charles Devens, with whom Drummond and Gresham had been in constant communication, decided with cabinet concurrence to urge the same policy

¹⁰ Quoted in *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], July 27, 1877.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1877; *Inter Ocean*, July 24, 25, 26, 27, 1877; *Chicago Tribune*, July 25, 27, 1877; Matilda Gresham, *Life of Walter Quintin Gresham* (2 vols., Chicago, 1919), I: 387; Drummond to Attorney General Charles Devens, July 24, 27, 1877, U. S. Department of Justice, General Records, Northern District of Illinois, National Archives. Dept. of Justice correspondence cited hereafter is in the same location. The author is indebted to Mr. David T. Burbank, St. Louis, for making available a microfilm copy of this and other correspondence noted hereafter as located in the National Archives. For Treat's order see *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], July 27, 1877, and U.S. Circuit Court, Southern District of Illinois, *General Record of Circuit Court* (19 vols., 1855-1911, hereafter cited as *General Record*), IX: 377. All the records of the Circuit Court, abolished in 1911, have been transferred from Springfield to the Federal Records Center in Chicago.

upon judges in other strikebound districts and to provide federal troops if necessary to support the marshals.¹²

The Urbana strikers may not have learned of all these developments, but they surmised certain consequences when Tom Halls, an I.B.&W. detective and deputy United States marshal, arrived to "take notice" of the most active participants in stopping trains. The strike quickly collapsed. On Saturday, July 28, trains ran without any threat of hindrance while a posse headed by Halls and the sheriff stood guard. When the I.B.&W. shops opened on Monday, most of the shop force was on the job.

Halls then carefully planned the arrest of the prominent strikers. With the co-operation of the sheriff and the mayor of Urbana, a number of police and deputy sheriffs were secreted in a hotel late Monday morning. On various pretexts Halls lured seventeen strikers inside one by one. They were welcomed by the posse and informed of their arrest under orders from Judge Drummond. Nine more were netted on the streets, but eight others on Halls' list left town in time to avoid capture.

The deputy marshal telegraphed to Drummond for instructions and was told to take the prisoners to Springfield. Pease provided a special train which departed in the evening with strikers, mayor, sheriff, posse, witnesses and railroad officials aboard. The prisoners took everything "good-humoredly, and most of them expressed the belief that after the judge was made acquainted with all the facts in the case he would let them off with slight punishment, and in some cases with nothing more than a reprimand."¹³ Their faith was foolish and their optimism ignorant.

¹² *Ill. State Journal*, July 27, 28, 1877; George Frederick Howe, "President Hayes's Notes of Four Cabinet Meetings," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (Jan., 1932), 288-89. See also Frederick T. Wilson, "Federal Aid in Domestic Disturbances, 1787-1903," *Senate Document* No. 263, 67 Cong., 2 Sess. (1922, Serial No. 7985), 171-74, 281, 284, 286. Federal judges at Nashville and Cincinnati immediately ordered their marshals to protect the St.L. & S.E. and the Ohio and Mississippi Railway, respectively. *Inter Ocean*, July 28, 1877.

¹³ *Champaign County Gazette*, Aug. 1, 1877.

The next morning, July 31, they were taken before Judge Treat in a body, charged with contempt of court for "stopping obstructing and delaying the running of trains" on the I.B.&W., a railroad in the custody of a receiver "by virtue of an order heretofore made by this Court. . . ."¹⁴ At the request of the defendants Treat appointed as their counsel James C. Robinson and John Mayo Palmer of Springfield and J. S. Lothrop of Champaign.¹⁵ District Attorney James A. Connolly prosecuted.

According to the *Illinois State Journal*, Connolly based his case on the testimony of the railroad officials and on the resolutions adopted by the strikers, particularly one to the effect "that the road would not be permitted to operate its trains till the price [wage] formerly allowed them was restored." Those defendants who took the stand "substantially" admitted the acts charged but asserted they had not known the railroad was in the hands of a receiver. Furthermore, it was established that they had "attempted no violence or destruction of property."¹⁶

Defense counsel urged the court to be lenient in view of the circumstances of the strike and the fact that the offenders might be prosecuted under state law, which provided severe penalties for interference with trains.¹⁷ Connolly replied that

¹⁴ *United States v. James Schooley et al.* (C.C.S.D. Ill., Criminal, General No. 5123, July 31, 1877), *General Record*, IX: 379. The file folder for this case is empty and it is impossible to determine whether it ever contained any documents.

¹⁵ Robinson, Democratic nominee for governor in 1864, had served five terms in Congress (1859-1865, 1871-1875). Palmer, son of Governor John McAuley Palmer (1869-1873), was a Democratic state representative in 1877.

¹⁶ *Ill. State Journal*, Aug. 1, 1877.

¹⁷ The act of June 2, 1877, effective July 1, provided for a fine of not less than \$20 nor more than \$200 and imprisonment for not less than twenty nor more than ninety days, for anyone convicted of impeding or obstructing by act or intimidation, or conspiring to do so, the regular running of trains or the labor and business of a railroad. "Voluntarily quitting employment," singly or in concert, was not to be construed as a violation of these provisions. (However, the Urbana strikers not only had left their jobs but also had boarded and sidetracked trains.) *Laws of the State of Illinois, 1877* (Springfield, 1877), 168. Under the act of March 19, 1873, the penalty for seeking to prevent anyone from working was a fine up to \$500. Persons combining to deprive an owner or possessor of property of its use and management, or to prevent the employment of anyone on terms agreeable to him and the employer, were punishable by a fine up to \$500 or by imprisonment up to six months. *Laws of the State of Illinois, 1873-4* (Springfield, 1874), 93.

the defendants exhibited intelligence superior to that of "the lower class" and therefore should have refrained "from the course taken by participating [in] the strike. . . ." He argued finally "that the process and mandate of the Federal Court ought to be respected by all parties, without reference to other provisions of law."¹⁸

Judge Treat, as reported in the *Journal*, told the defendants that they had a right to decide whether to remain in the employ of the I.B.&W. but "they had no right to seek to control, by an *unlawful combination*, the running of trains. If the company, at the time, had insisted upon their right to continue operating the road, in all probability a collision would have taken place and murder been committed," a more serious crime than contempt of court.¹⁹

If the newspaper summarized his remarks accurately, the judge considered the strikers guilty of criminal conspiracy. However, they were before him only on a charge of criminal contempt. He held them guilty and treated them to ninety days in jail.

The judge's comments also implied that the defendants were entirely responsible for the stoppage of trains. In fact, the day before the workers struck, I.B.&W. officials halted an eastbound train at Urbana, announcing that no passenger trains would run to Indianapolis until a strike at that railroad center had ended. Earlier the company had ordered its agents to refuse freight destined for points east of the Indiana capital.²⁰ Treat's conjectures concerning a "collision" and "murder" had already been disproved by the complete absence of opposition when Halls and his posse "insisted" on moving trains.

During the ten days following the conviction of the Urbana strikers, Judge Treat decided a series of contempt

¹⁸ *Ill. State Journal*, Aug. 1, 1877.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Italics added.

²⁰ *Champaign County Gazette*, July 25, 1877.

cases involving alleged interference with the operations of the St. Louis and Southeastern Railway (now part of the Louisville and Nashville). In Illinois the road ran from East St. Louis through Mt. Vernon, McLeansboro and Carmi, with a branch line from McLeansboro through Equality to Shawneetown. There were shops at Mt. Vernon.

Late in 1874 the company had gone into receivership, and since September 2, 1876, James Harrison Wilson had been receiver. Wilson was a native of Shawneetown. An army engineer at the outbreak of the Civil War, he had served for a time on Grant's staff and developed into a brilliant cavalry general.²¹ He had resigned from the army at the end of 1870 to build railroads. As one of the promoters of the St.L.&S.E. and partner in the firm of contractors that constructed the lines in Illinois,²² he had been a director or vice-president of the company almost continuously prior to becoming receiver.²³

In St. Louis and East St. Louis railroad workers struck at midnight Sunday, July 22. Earlier in the day Wilson had written to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz: ". . . In my opinion, the fight might just as well be made *now* as at any time. . . . I am managing property now in the Custody of the U. S. Courts, and I shall certainly not permit my employees to fix their own rate of wages, nor dictate to me in any manner

²¹ He rose from second lieutenant in 1861 to brevet major general of volunteers by October, 1864, a few weeks after his twenty-seventh birthday. See *Dictionary of American Biography*.

²² Wilson's autobiography, almost wholly devoted to military reminiscences, includes a brief description of his business activities. James Harrison Wilson, *Under the Old Flag* (2 vols., New York and London, 1912), II: 381-83, 389-400. Of his civilian pursuits, the one that gave him "the greatest satisfaction" was building the St.L. & S.E. *Ibid.*, II: 542.

²³ A large quantity of correspondence pertaining to affairs of the St.L. & S.E. is preserved in the James H. Wilson Papers, Bender Collection, Colorado State Historical Society, Denver (microfilm copy in Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield). Unfortunately there is nothing on the railroad strikes of 1877. Lists of officers and directors of the St.L. & S.E. are printed in the first through sixth *Annual Report of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission of the State of Illinois, 1871-1876* (Springfield, 1872-1876). Wilson was receiver only of that part of the railroad in Illinois and Indiana; receiver of the lines in Kentucky and Tennessee was St. John Boyle.

what my policy shall be."²⁴ That night Wilson wired Schurz news of the strike; the telegram was referred to Secretary of War George W. McCrary, who next morning ordered troops withdrawn from western forts to reinforce the small garrison at St. Louis.²⁵ Wilson also appealed promptly to Judge Drummond and Governor Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois for protection. Cullom transmitted the appeal to sheriffs along the route of the St.L.&S.E., instructing them to enforce the law and protect property rights.²⁶

Wilson told Drummond that he and the other railroad managers were "unalterably opposed to any concession . . . to organized violence" (as he characterized the strike) and asserted that the United States marshal backed by federal troops would be needed to handle an anticipated "riotous outbreak." He claimed that employees of the St.L.&S.E. did not desire to join the walkout but ceased work when "intimidated" by strikers from other lines.²⁷ On Monday afternoon the judge telegraphed orders to United States Marshal Edward R. Roe at Springfield to go to East St. Louis to provide protection and to obtain the names of those interfering with the road so that they might be punished later. Roe conferred first with Cullom about the possibility of assistance from the Illinois National Guard. They agreed that if such aid proved necessary, a force large enough to overcome all opposition should be sent. Tuesday morning Roe went to East St. Louis to consult with Wilson and investigate conditions.²⁸

²⁴ Wilson to Schurz, July 22, 1877; Carl Schurz Papers, Library of Congress. The author is indebted to Mr. Burbank for making available photostats of Wilson's communications to Schurz contained in these papers; photostats are now also in Ill. State Hist. Lib.

²⁵ Wilson to Schurz, July 22, 1877, copy enclosed in Acting Secretary of the Interior S. Bell to McCrary, July 23, 1877; Assistant Adjutant General Thomas M. Vincent to Brigadier General John Pope, July 23, 1877, U.S. War Dept., Records of Adjutant General's Office, National Archives. Cited hereafter as A.G.O. Records.

²⁶ Cullom's telegram to Sheriff James M. Blades of Hamilton County, July 23, 1877, is quoted in the *McLeansboro Times*, July 28, 1877.

²⁷ Quoted in Gresham, *Life of Gresham*, I: 385-86. See also Wilson's sworn petition to Drummond, July 24, 1877, copy enclosed in Drummond to Devens, July 25, 1877, Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, N.D. Ill. Bluford Wilson, the receiver's brother and attorney, also signed and undoubtedly drafted the petition.

²⁸ Gresham, *Life of Gresham*, I: 387; *Ill. State Register*, July 23, 1877; *Ill. State Journal*, July 24, 1877; *Inter Ocean*, July 24, 1877.

Masses of strikers were preventing the departure of freight trains and beginning to obstruct passenger traffic, although permitting mail cars to continue. As yet there had been no violence or destruction of property, and Mayor John Bowman refused to arrest strikers as Wilson requested. Roe and Wilson reported to Judge Drummond by telegram that an effective posse could not be raised in the East St. Louis area because of popular sympathy for the strikers and that no military force was available. The judge relayed the report to Devens for the information of President Hayes, and the Attorney General replied that "every effort shall be made to execute the process of the court." Roe returned to Springfield on Wednesday, July 25, on one of the few trains out of East St. Louis.²⁹

Late Wednesday morning Wilson telegraphed to Roe and Cullom that strikers from East St. Louis were attempting to close the railroad shops at Mt. Vernon. Again he demanded protection. In a second telegram Wilson asked Roe to appoint Charles W. Pavey and Thomas S. Casey of Mt. Vernon special deputy marshals. Roe complied.³⁰ Casey was a locally prominent lawyer and politician who had participated in the organization of the St.L.&S.E. and had been a director of the company.³¹ Pavey commanded the Third Brigade of the Illinois National Guard, soon to be called to active duty. Their appointments probably prevented a walkout of the shopmen. The strikers' delegation that came to talk to the shop workers was told by L. B. Salisbury, superintendent of rolling stock, that the employees were free to quit if they wished but that those who remained at work would be protected. At noon

²⁹ *Ill. State Journal*, July 25, 26, 1877; *Inter Ocean*, July 25, 26, 1877; Wilson to Schurz, July 24, 1877 (two telegrams), Schurz Papers; Drummond to Devens, July 24, 1877, Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, N.D. Ill.; Devens to Drummond, July 24, 1877, Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, Judges and Clerks of U.S. Courts, Letter Book No. 1, p. 263 (cited hereafter as Letter Book No. 1).

³⁰ *Ill. State Journal*, July 26, 1877; *Ill. State Register*, July 25, 1877.

³¹ William Henry Perrin, ed., *History of Jefferson County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1883), 167, 214-15. See also note 23 above.

the shopmen voted to strike at six o'clock; when the time came, however, they held another meeting and reversed their decision.³²

The first arrests for interference with the St.L.&S.E. were made near McLeansboro on Thursday, July 26, by Sheriff James M. Blades and railroad detective James Skiles, who caught three men—ironically not railroad workers—who had sidetracked a freight train. The offenders were tried by the McLeansboro police magistrate and released—partly, it seems, out of resentment toward the railroad.³³ Meanwhile Wilson had been informed of the proceedings. At his request Roe appointed Blades and Skiles special deputy marshals with authority to hold the trio for contempt prosecutions (in accordance with the orders that Judges Drummond and Treat had issued to Roe). Skiles took the prisoners to Springfield.³⁴

At St. Louis, Colonel Jefferson C. Davis was quartering the army reinforcements at the arsenal and barracks, since his orders were to guard only federal property until state officials requested, and the President sanctioned, use of the troops to "suppress insurrection against state law." As soon as the regulars began arriving on July 24, Wilson advocated stationing them in the "center" of the city or in East St. Louis. The next day, as the strike affected other points on the St.L.&S.E., he offered the War Department free transportation for any troops and munitions sent to St. Louis via Nashville, the southern terminus of the railroad. Since no detachments from posts in the South were en route to St. Louis, this inducement for

³² *Chicago Tribune*, July 26, 1877; *Inter Ocean*, July 26, 1877.

³³ Bitterness toward the St.L. & S.E. and its promoters resulted from the \$825,000 debt that various counties, townships and municipalities had saddled upon themselves by issuing bonds to aid its construction. The bonds bore seven, eight and ten per cent interest, but the stock obtained in exchange had never paid a dividend and was practically worthless in view of the foreclosure suit pending against the railroad. See *Second Annual Report of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission of the State of Illinois*, 1872, pp. 346-47, 355.

³⁴ *Golden Era* [McLeansboro], July 27, 1877; *McLeansboro Times*, July 28, 1877; *Ill. State Journal*, July 27, 29, 1877.

the army to break the strike by sweeping the entire length of the line was ignored.³⁵

Roe therefore named additional special deputy marshals to protect the St.L.&S.E. on Friday, July 27, probably at Wilson's request.³⁶ The most important appointee was the receiver's younger brother, Bluford Wilson, who had cut his eye-teeth on the legal problems of organizing the railroad and served on its board of directors for several years.³⁷ He had been United States district attorney at Springfield from 1869 to 1874 and then Solicitor of the Treasury Department, returning to Springfield in 1876 to practice law.³⁸ He counted the St.L.&S.E. among his clients. On July 27 Bluford had been in St. Louis for several days assisting his brother.

Other special deputy marshals appointed that day included Joseph J. Castles and Michael K. Lawler at Equality and John M. Crebs at Carmi.³⁹ They were empowered to arrest anyone unlawfully interfering with the St.L.&S.E. in their presence.⁴⁰ Apparently they had no occasion to make arrests,

³⁵ Adjutant General Edward D. Townsend to Pope, July 24, 1877; McCrary to Townsend, July 24, 1877; Wilson to Schurz, July 24, 1877, forwarded to McCrary; Wilson to McCrary, July 25, 1877, A.G.O. Records.

³⁶ *Ill. State Register*, July 27, 1877; *Ill. State Journal*, July 28, 1877.

³⁷ See note 23 above.

³⁸ No doubt Bluford benefited from President Grant's friendship for James H. Wilson. Unfortunately for Bluford's political career, however, in Washington he helped uncover and prosecute the Whisky Ring; the Grant administration did not appreciate this public service. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (5 vols., New York, 1917-1937), III: 145-59. See also Joseph Wallace, *Past and Present of the City of Springfield and Sangamon County, Illinois* (2 vols., Chicago, 1904), II: 916-21; *American Biography: A New Cyclopaedia* (New York, 1917-1933), XXV: 42-46.

³⁹ Castles was a director, former vice-president, and one of the organizers of the St.L. & S.E. See note 23 above. Lawler, a brigadier general of volunteers in the Civil War, was an old friend of the Wilsons. Bluford had served on his staff at times in the war and had tried to help him obtain a federal patronage position in 1875 when Lawler, a Democrat, wanted some "trimens" to supplement his "rations." For his service as deputy marshal, Lawler received a pass on the railroad. Bluford Wilson to Lawler, Feb. 13, 1875; James H. Wilson to Lawler, Aug. 2, 1877, Michael K. Lawler Papers, Southern Illinois University Library, Carbondale (microfilm copy in Ill. State Hist. Lib.). See also J. T. Dorris, "Michael Kelly Lawler: Mexican and Civil War Officer," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* (Winter, 1955), 366-401. Crebs, a colonel of volunteers in the Civil War, was the leading lawyer in Carmi, owned considerable property, and had twice been elected to Congress. *History of White County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1883), 318, 414.

⁴⁰ Edward R. Roe to Lawler and Castles, July 27, 1877, telegram (copy), Lawler Papers.

but with the defense of the eastern flank entrusted to them, attention could be concentrated on a counterattack against the strikers at the western end of the line.

Receiver Wilson had wired Schurz on July 26: "Time has come when president should stamp out mob now rampant. . . . *The law can be found for it after order is restored.*"⁴¹ The same day Marshal H. W. Leffingwell of the Eastern District of Missouri, at the direction of Judge Samuel Treat,⁴² had asked Devens for authority to obtain aid from Colonel Davis.⁴³ The Attorney General, however, with a greater regard for legal nicety than Wilson professed, informed Leffingwell and Roe early on July 27 that there were essential prerequisites: "If writs of assistance are issued to put the Receivers of the United States Courts in the possession of their property . . . , the United States troops will be ordered to aid you or your posse, if you report it necessary."⁴⁴

Deputy Marshal Charles S. Roe then went to St. Louis to co-ordinate action with Leffingwell, carrying notices to be posted in East St. Louis on the property of the St.L.&S.E. and another line in receivership, the Ohio and Mississippi Railway. The notices recited the court order of July 26 requiring the marshal to protect those properties and referred to the decision of Hayes and the cabinet to support marshals with the full power of the federal government.⁴⁵

Late in the morning of July 27 Davis received orders to report on the situation for the information of Hayes. At noon Judge Treat of Missouri telegraphed the President seeking approval for Davis to aid Leffingwell, but Hayes did not reply.

⁴¹ Wilson to Schurz, July 26, 1877, Schurz Papers. Italics added.

⁴² See note 4 above.

⁴³ Samuel Treat to Devens, July 27, 1877, Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, Eastern District of Missouri.

⁴⁴ Quoted in *Ill. State Journal*, July 28, 1877. Devens sent this dispatch before receiving Drummond's wire containing the text of the orders issued at Chicago on July 25 and at Indianapolis and Springfield on July 26. See Drummond to Devens, July 27, 1877, Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, N.D. Ill. Judge Treat of Missouri apparently did not issue a similar order until July 27. Leffingwell to Devens, July 27, 1877, Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, E. D. Mo.

⁴⁵ *Ill. State Journal*, July 28, 1877.

During the afternoon and evening the judge, Deputy Marshal Roe, Governor John S. Phelps of Missouri, Mayor Henry Overstolz of St. Louis, and no doubt the Wilsons and the railroad managers, all urged Davis to act—and in particular, to send a force into East St. Louis “to prevent violence and open commerce.” Bluford Wilson assured officials in Springfield that the regulars could easily be moved into East St. Louis; but Cullom, with the army already on duty in Chicago at his behest, wanted to avoid another call for federal assistance.⁴⁶ So he ordered the Second and Third Brigades of the Illinois National Guard to the scene.

Davis’s report reached the War Department at 10 P.M. and was relayed to Hayes. Davis believed that by morning, without any aid from him, “law and order” would be established in St. Louis by three thousand militia organized by Mayor Overstolz and a Committee of Safety (of which Receiver Wilson was a member) and supplied with weapons from the state arsenal. While use of troops in East St. Louis would provide “moral support” for the Missouri authorities, Davis had been advising those clamoring for the army to break the strike, not to call for help until their own resources were wholly exhausted.⁴⁷

About an hour later the Western Union office in Washington received a querulous, repetitious telegram to the Attorney General from Judge Treat of Missouri. Roe and Leffingwell, he said, were ready and waiting to act, armed with proper warrants. “. . . Nothing is wanting to rescue from pressing and impending peril the property in possession of U. S. receivers except the needed order for . . . Davis to aid the U. S. marshals. . . .” A wire from Leffingwell repeated the request. From Springfield Marshal Roe telegraphed that Judge Drummond was insisting that he execute the court order to free the

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*; *Ill. State Register*, July 27, 1877; Townsend to Davis, July 27, 1877; Davis to Townsend, July 27, 1877, A.G.O. Records; Samuel Treat to Devens, July 27, 1877, Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, E.D. Mo.

⁴⁷ Davis to Townsend, July 27, 1877; Townsend to Hayes, July 27, 1877, A.G.O. Records.

railroads in receivership from "all obstructions . . . by mobs" and was directing him to ask for military assistance.⁴⁸ Devens did not see these late dispatches immediately. It seems reasonable to assume that, had they been sent earlier in the day, the Attorney General would have responded affirmatively, as he did promptly after reading them the next morning.⁴⁹

Some time during the night, apparently without the "needed order" from Washington, Davis was persuaded to provide aid to the marshals; and early Saturday morning, July 28, about three hundred regulars crossed the river to East St. Louis to guard the railroads in receivership.⁵⁰ Governor Cullom, Marshal Roe, District Attorney Connolly and other officials arrived shortly thereafter by special train. Within the next few hours approximately one thousand state troops poured into the city. Trains were soon moving out of East St. Louis under armed escort and the blockade was broken less than twenty-four hours after the appearance of the military. Then, with the aid of detectives, the deputy marshals and national guards sought to apprehend the leading strikers. The state troops were withdrawn from the city on July 31, and the regulars left a day or two later.⁵¹

The largest group of those arrested for interfering with the St.L.&S.E. came before Judge Treat of Illinois on August 4. In the first case, involving a single defendant, a *nolle prosequi* was entered.⁵² In the second case,⁵³ four of the nine

⁴⁸ Samuel Treat to Devens, July 27, 1877; Leffingwell to Devens, July 27, 1877, Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, E.D. Mo.; Edward R. Roe to Devens, July 27, 1877, Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, S.D. Ill.

⁴⁹ Devens to Samuel Treat, July 28, 1877, Letter Book No. 1, pp. 264-65; Devens to Edward R. Roe, July 28, 1877; Devens to Leffingwell, July 28, 1877 (two telegrams), Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, Instruction Book G, 390, 391; *Ill. State Register*, July 28, 1877.

⁵⁰ Cf. Wilson, "Federal Aid in Domestic Disturbances," 174. David T. Burbank, "The St. Louis General Strike of 1877" (MS) concludes that pressure from Receiver Wilson was probably "more important than any other single factor."

⁵¹ *Ill. State Journal*, July 29, Aug. 2, 1877; *Ill. State Register*, July 28, 1877; *Biennial Report of the Adjutant-General of Illinois, 1877-1878* (Springfield, 1878), 111-13.

⁵² *United States v. Harry Wright* (C.C.S.D. Ill., Criminal, Gen. No. 5127, Aug. 4, 1877), *General Record*, IX: 382.

⁵³ *United States v. Andrew Crawford et al.* (C.C.S.D. Ill., Criminal, Gen. No. 5128, Aug. 4, 1877), *ibid.*, IX: 382-83.

accused had been named in an affidavit sworn to by James H. Wilson. It listed fourteen men who allegedly had "aided, directed and controlled" a mob of strikers that forcibly seized the St.L.&S.E. property in East St. Louis about July 25 and drove the employees from their work by "threats intimidation and violence. . . ." Inserted between the lines, in the manner of an afterthought, was the allegation that those named "were conspiring together for the said unlawful purpose." Several were identified as employees of various railroads, but none as employees of the St.L.&S.E. Treat had ordered their attachment for contempt.⁵⁴

Twenty-seven witnesses had been subpoenaed to testify for the government.⁵⁵ Bluford Wilson handled the prosecution because Connolly and the assistant district attorney were absent. James C. Robinson again appeared as defense counsel, with aid from Mayor Bowman of East St. Louis.⁵⁶

After testimony, *nolle prosequi* were entered as to three of the accused. The type of evidence against them is indicated by the account in the *Illinois State Journal*, a paper antagonistic to the strikers. One had been arrested by the national guards "while making a speech in favor of the strike." Another, the city marshal of East St. Louis, on July 24 had allegedly "signed and issued a proclamation for the assembling of a company [of municipal militia] . . . to repel foreign [presumably federal] troops, . . . but there was no testimony that he personally participated in the stoppage of trains. . . ." The six remaining defendants, including the four named in Wilson's affidavit, either had been members of the strikers' "executive committee" or had interfered with trains.

Robinson argued that the accused had not been aware of the offense they were committing or that the St.L.&S.E.

⁵⁴ Affidavit of James H. Wilson, July 31, 1877, *U.S. v. Crawford et al.* The entire affidavit is in Wilson's hand.

⁵⁵ Subpoenas, Aug. 1, 2, 4, 1877, *U.S. v. Crawford et al.*

⁵⁶ *Ill. State Journal*, Aug. 5, 1877.

was under court protection. But Judge Treat said they must have known "they were breaking the law, and had no right to conspire to effect a suspension of travel."⁵⁷ He held them guilty of criminal contempt and sentenced them to ninety days in jail.

In the third case determined that day, Treat made the same finding and imposed the same ninety-day sentence on the three men who had sidetracked the train at McLeansboro.⁵⁸

On August 7 he heard another contempt case, relating to the canceled strike of the Mt. Vernon shopmen. An affidavit sworn to by L. B. Salisbury alleged that A. M. Rupert, a fireman, had conspired with two other employees of the St.L.& S.E. to induce the shop workers to strike and had also attempted to seize a passenger train. The affidavit quoted telegrams allegedly sent by Rupert to the strikers' executive committee in East St. Louis asking for assistance. Treat had ordered attachment of the three accused, but only Rupert and one other named Downey had been arrested by August 6. The charge against Downey was dismissed on motion of the district attorney. The judge assured Rupert's future good behavior by freeing him under \$500 recognizance to answer to the contempt charge at the pleasure of the court.⁵⁹

Treat disposed of the last two contempt cases on August 10. The defendant in the first case, arrested in East St. Louis on July 31, had been free on \$1,500 bond. He appeared with a petition signed by twenty-one friends, one of them a special deputy marshal, urging dismissal of the charge on the ground that he had not participated in the strike. The case was dismissed.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *United States v. Joseph Alden et al.* (C.C.S.D. Ill., Criminal, Gen. No. 5129, Aug. 4, 1877), *General Record*, IX: 383.

⁵⁹ Affidavit of L. B. Salisbury, July 31, 1877; Attachment, Aug. 1, 1877; *United States v. A. M. Rupert et al.* (C.C.S.D. Ill., Criminal, Gen. No. 5130, Aug. 7, 1877), *General Record*, IX: 385.

⁶⁰ Recognizance to Answer, Aug. 1, 1877; Petition, Aug. 7, 1877; *United States v. Daniel Burke* (C.C.S.D. Ill., Criminal, Gen. No. 5131, Aug. 10, 1877), *General*

The final case was based on an affidavit sworn to by James Skiles, alleging that Charles Talley, Fred Baker, and Al Tankesley had disabled two St.L.&S.E. locomotives in East St. Louis on July 28 by removing essential parts. Baker's name was crossed out in the body of the affidavit but reappeared in the appended list of witnesses. The logical inference is supported by the fact that Talley and Tankesley pleaded guilty, the only strikers to do so. They were sentenced to serve the standard ninety days of purgation in the county jail at Mt. Vernon, their home town.⁶¹

Skiles finally caught up with two other East St. Louis strikers who had allegedly interfered with the St.L.&S.E. and brought them to Springfield on August 16. By this time Treat had adjourned the Circuit Court until September, so only a preliminary hearing was held by the United States commissioner. Each of the accused was put under \$1,000 bond to answer for his good behavior.⁶²

During August, friends and relatives of the prisoners circulated petitions for their release in Urbana, East St. Louis and Mt. Vernon. Among the signers were officials of the I.B.&W. and the St.L.&S.E.,⁶³ who apparently concluded that the strikers had been sufficiently impressed with the gravity of their offense. This benevolent action may have been suggested by Judge Drummond, who as early as August 7 wrote to Devens that he was considering "whether, if it shall appear at the end of a month, that the object has been accomplished which we have mainly had in view—to prevent similar interference hereafter, it may not be wise to remit the re-

Record, 384. The case is entered in the record under date of August 7 but with a marginal notation of August 10; the latter date is confirmed by the *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 11, 1877.

⁶¹ Affidavit of James Skiles, Aug. 2, 1877; *United States v. Charles Talley and Al Tankesley* (C.C.S.D. Ill., Criminal, Gen. No. 5132, Aug. 10, 1877), *General Record*, IX: 384-85. This case is also entered in the record under date of August 7 but must have been heard on August 10; see *Ill. State Journal*, Aug. 10, 11, 13, 1877; *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 11, 1877.

⁶² *Ill. State Journal*, Aug. 17, 18, 1877.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1877; *Champaign County Gazette*, Aug. 15, 1877; *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 4, 1877.

mainder of the penalty.”⁶⁴ On August 29 and 31 Drummond and Gresham released the strikers convicted at Chicago and Indianapolis,⁶⁵ and Treat followed their example when he reconvened the court on September 3.

The twenty-nine prisoners in the county jail at Springfield were each freed on \$500 recognizance requiring their promise to obey for one year all laws of the United States and to refrain during the same period from any interference with property in control of the federal courts or in custody of persons appointed by the courts. Treat also released unconditionally the two strikers confined at Mt. Vernon and six Urbana strikers who had been transferred from Springfield to the Champagne County jail.⁶⁶

The contempt prosecutions in the Southern District of Illinois, as elsewhere in the Seventh Circuit in 1877, played an insignificant part in ending the railroad strikes. Arrests of strikers were not made until after troops arrived at East St. Louis or until after a deputy marshal's posse began guard duty at Urbana. Certainly the major factor in breaking the strikes was armed force. What purpose, then, was served by the prosecutions?

Since the strikers were presumed to be guilty of criminal conspiracy and other violations of law, but were not proved guilty in a jury trial, the contempt convictions had the effect of punishing alleged lawbreakers without due process.⁶⁷ It is clear, however, that the main purpose of the prosecutions was not to punish a few strikers for their supposed crimes regardless of the requirements of criminal procedure, but rather to

⁶⁴ Drummond to Devens, Aug. 7, 1877, Dept. of Justice, Gen. Records, N.D. Ill.; see also Devens to Drummond, Aug. 13, 1877, Letter Book No. 1, p. 267.

⁶⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 30, Sept. 1, 1877.

⁶⁶ *General Record*, IX: 388-89. The Urbana strikers had been transferred to relieve severe overcrowding in the ancient Sangamon County jail. *Ill. State Journal*, Aug. 1, 10, 1877.

⁶⁷ For a contemporary expression of this view see *Ill. State Register*, Aug. 3, 1877, which caustically criticized Judge Drummond (and by implication Judge Treat) for “manifest usurpation of authority” in using the contempt power to punish strikers accused of crimes, thereby depriving them of their constitutional rights and “interfering with the criminal justice of the state” of Illinois.

teach a lesson to railroad labor in general. And it was not the lesson prated by the press and embalmed in the court records—due respect for the federal judicial power.

The receivers and the judges wanted to convince the workers that any strike action would bring swift retribution. Under the guise of upholding the authority of the federal courts, and openly by discharging and blacklisting strikers, the railroads in receivership aimed to intimidate their employees into reluctance to resort to the strike weapon in the future. Temporarily the intimidation succeeded.

FUNK MEMORIAL AT RESEARCH ACRES

BY HELEN M. CAVANAGH

RESEARCH ACRES, ten miles south of Bloomington and five miles northwest of Funks Grove, was selected as the first site in Illinois for commemoration by the Corn Foundation of Michigan State University.

Appropriately mounted on a huge granite boulder from the Funk farm, the bronze plaque from the Corn Foundation admirably describes both the purposes and the contributions of the Funk family:

RESEARCH ACRES

This tract of Prairie has been permanently set aside by the Funk Family for Agricultural Research. Here privately and publicly supported Corn Improvement work has been done continuously for more than fifty years which in terms of duration and contribution to Corn Farming is unique on this continent. Work done here has contributed notably to Bringing the Benefits of Hybrid Corn to Farmers in the United States, Canada and Europe.

Research Acres is part of the 25,000 acres of prairie land acquired by the farsighted pioneer Isaac Funk between 1824 and 1865. Grass and corn grown on these lands helped feed the livestock which he and his eight sons marketed in the East, in Galena and in Chicago. One of these sons, LaFayette, inherited the northeastern part of his father's original holdings where he retained for many years bluegrass fields for his cattle. He was an able member of the Illinois State Board of Agriculture and a director of the Chicago Union Stockyards for many years. His son, Eugene Duncan Funk, Sr., turned his attention to the improvement of corn and in 1892 set aside a part of Research Acres for his work with "Corn Families."

For more than fifty years these acres and other areas of Funk land have been the scene of study of the corn plant in



AT DEDICATION OF RESEARCH ACRES MARKER

Among the approximately five hundred persons who attended the dedication of the Corn Foundation plaque at Research Acres on August 2, 1955 were, left to right, LaFayette Funk, D. B. Varner, Theodore Funk, K. T. Payne, James R. Holbert, Paul A. Funk and Eugene D. Funk, Jr.

order to improve it. Dr. James R. Holbert, in charge of the federal field station established here by the United States Department of Agriculture in 1918, continued the difficult assignment received from E. D. Funk, Sr., "to breed a better variety of corn than ever before known." From these cooperative studies came important contributions to corn growing and American agriculture. Research Acres can justly be called a cradle of commercial hybrid corn in the corn belt.

Thousands have visited Research Acres observing developments in the extensive agricultural research program carried on by Funk Brothers Seed Company; many return year after year. The dirt farmer, the educator, the scientist and the commercial leader exchange ideas. Visitors view improvements in clovers, alfalfa, soybeans, oats and wheat as well as in corn. They learn of the latest advances and help to interpret them in individual communities. They have often taken away with them something of the calm and quiet inspiration caught so significantly in a well selected poem recited by Mrs.

Eugene D. Funk, Sr., affectionately known as "Mother Funk." Eugene D. Funk, Jr., his brothers LaFayette, Paul and Theodore, with Dr. Holbert as their able general manager, continue to go forward in keeping with the best ideas derived from past activities at Research Acres.

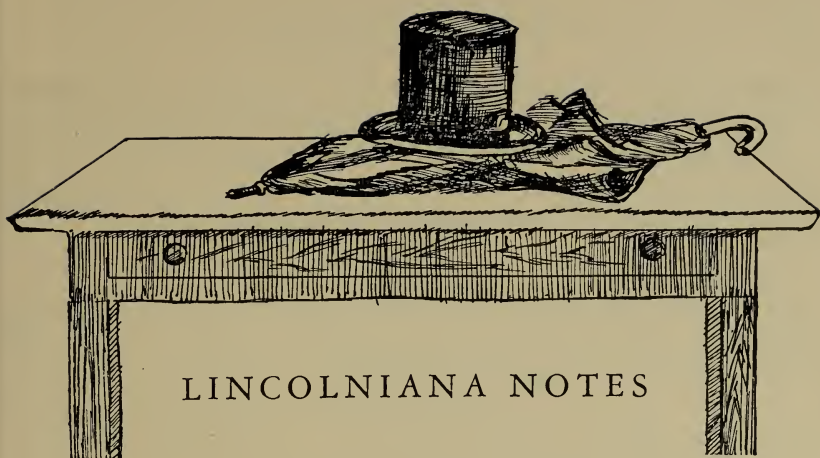
Dr. D. B. Varner, Vice-President of Off-Campus Education at Michigan State University, spoke for the Corn Foundation at the dedication of the plaque on August 2, 1955. He described the event as a tribute to men, to ideas and to the co-operative effort of industry, education and government. Dr. Kenyon T. Payne, head of the Michigan State agronomy department, told of the organization of the Foundation several years ago to create a library on the history of corn and establish a museum of corn culture.

The Corn Foundation erected its first marker in 1953 in memory of botanist William J. Beal, who served for fifty years on the agricultural staff at Michigan State. He was the first (1877) to cross-fertilize corn for the express purpose of increasing yield through hybrid vigor.

The memorial at Research Acres is the second to be erected by the Foundation. Its dedication was one of the features of the mid-summer meeting of the Funk Hybrid Corn Organization, which drew associate breeders from many states and Canada. Eugene D. Funk, Jr., in accepting the plaque on behalf of the Funk family and Funk organization, significantly said:

We pay honor to the past and yet have still greater things to do for the future. We must not fail to go forward and continue to build on the foundation of the past for the agricultural people of the United States and foreign countries.¹

¹ For further information about Isaac Funk see *Funk of Funk's Grove* (Pantagraph Printing Co., Bloomington, 1952), by Dr. Helen M. Cavanagh, Illinois State Normal University.



LINCOLN BEFORE A NEW YORK AUDIENCE

When Lincoln left Springfield for Congress in 1847 he rented his home at Eighth and Jackson streets to Cornelius Ludlum. But for most of the time it was occupied not by Ludlum, but by Mason Brayman, a young Springfield attorney who had revised the statutes of Illinois in 1845.¹ Lincoln and Brayman were colleagues at the bar and formed a personal friendship unaffected by political differences. Soon after the Illinois Central was chartered Brayman became its general solicitor, and from 1852 to 1861 he was in charge of its legal department. He was in New York on railroad business at the time Lincoln delivered his Cooper Union speech. On February 27, 1860 he wrote his daughter Ada's husband William H. Bailhache, coeditor of the *Illinois State Journal*:

I am at the Astor House. Mr. Lincoln is there, and we have spent some time together, but I am getting *crowded out*. While at Dinner today, he was waited upon by some admirers. He turned half round and talked "hoss"

¹ In *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association ed., 1953), I: 406-7, are Lincoln's endorsements on the contract showing payments by Brayman. The latter wrote his sister on June 8, 1848: "We have an excellent house and garden—with plenty of cherries and currants, and peaches growing—with vegetables of my own raising." Mason Brayman (1813-1895) was born in Buffalo, New York. He was admitted to the bar in 1836. After six years of editing a newspaper and practicing law in Louisville, Kentucky, he came to Illinois.

to them—introduced me as a Democrat, but one so good tempered that he and I could “eat out of the *same rack, without a pole between us*.” . . .

Mr. Lincoln speaks to-night at the Cooper Institute. For the honor of Illinois we shall all turn out [to] hear him; and I anticipate a rousing crowd. He is in fine health and spirits, and will make a telling speech—perhaps his best.²

The following day Brayman wrote to Bailhache again. Brayman’s revealing account of Lincoln’s address at Cooper Union, hitherto unpublished, follows:

N. Y. FEBY. 28, 1860

WM H BAILHACHE ESQ:

Dear Sir:—I mentioned yesterday that I would get some Republican to write you on *Lincoln’s speech*. But that is not necessary. The morning papers publish it with great accuracy, and notice it justly. I heard it through with attention, alive to the honor of Illinois—caring not a button for its political bearing.

The speech was masterly, and fully sustained throughout; indeed a triumph. It was heard by a most intelligent and decorous audience—the rabble element being absent; and the manner in which the speech was received, might justly awaken the pride of any living statesman. Without any preface of compliment; with scarcely a bow, he seized the strong points of the argument, and went straight through; not losing a link, not tripping, not wanting words, but speaking with studied precision and gramatical accuracy; not even turning aside to *tell a story*, or provoke that mirth, which so often characterizes his more free and easy performances at home. The fact is, Abraham was a little *straightened*. The New-Yorkers really regard him as one of the strongest of the Republicans—very possibly their fittest candidate, and treated him accordingly. He was aware that much was expected of him, and that much significance attached to his words; and he talked like a man who was aware that his *talk* would be *talked about* by all people on the morrow. It was therefore somewhat funny, to see a man who *at home*, talks along in so familiar a way, walking up and down, swaying about, swinging his arms, bobbing forward, telling droll stories and laughing at them himself, *here in New-York*, standing up stiff and straight, with his hands quiet, pronouncing sentence after sentence, in good telling english, with elaborate distinctness, though well condensed, and casting at each finished period, a timid, sidelong glance at the formidable array of Reporters who surrounded

² Carl Sandburg, *Lincoln Collector: The Story of Oliver R. Barrett’s Great Private Collection* (New York, 1949), 160. This letter is now in the Chicago Historical Society.

the table close at his elbow, as if conscious, that after all the *world* was his audience, on whose ear his words would fall from the thousand multiplying tongues of the Press; and that for the time being, these little busy fellows were the arbiters of his fate.

The speech is reported in the Tribune, & Times very accurately—as spoken.

Brayman became colonel of the 29th Illinois Infantry and later major general during the Civil War. In his later life he continued his railroad activities and served as governor of Idaho Territory from 1876 to 1880.

Bailhache left the *Journal* in 1862 for a quartermastership appointment given him by President Lincoln. After the war he bought back his interest in the paper and was one of its editors until 1873. He later moved to New Mexico Territory, then to California.

The Bailhache-Brayman Papers—some 1,500 items—were recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library from two sources.³

CENTENNIAL OF "LOST SPEECH"

Illinois Republicans held their state convention in Bloomington on May 29, 1956, in commemoration of the first Republican state convention held there one hundred years before at which Lincoln made his "lost speech." The McLean County Historical Society, Wayne C. Townley, president, participated in ceremonies dedicating a memorial plaque.

³ In a letter to his father John Bailhache of Alton, dated February 6, 1857, Bailhache wrote: "We are having awful weather now. It has been raining for several days without freezing any & the crop of mud is now quite abundant. . . . This has been a gay week with us, notwithstanding the mud. . . . Last night the weather was a trifle worse if possible, and yet I found a perfect *jam* at Ab. Lincoln's party." Orville H. Browning of Quincy also noted in his diary: "Thursday Feby 5 Raining & very foggy. . . . At night attended large & pleasant party at Lincoln's . . . the streets very muddy[.]" Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, 1: 274 (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XX). Mrs. Lincoln refers to the same party on February 16 in a letter to her half-sister Emily (later Mrs. Ben Hardin Helm): "I may perhaps surprise you when I mention that I am recovering from the slight fatigue of a very large and I really believe a very handsome entertainment, at least our friends flatter us by saying so. About five hundred were invited, yet owing to an unlucky rain three hundred only favored us by their

HISTORIC LINCOLN SITES IN MACON COUNTY

Webber A. Borchers, Lacy Chandler, W. Lindley Huff, T. W. Samuels and E. L. Simmons have been named a committee of the Macon County Lincoln Memorial Association to take charge of raising funds and restoring the old courthouse in Decatur. The building, now located in Fairview Park, was situated in Lincoln Square in 1830 when the Lincoln family arrived in Decatur on their way from Indiana.

The Lincoln Trail Homestead State Park west of Decatur, where the Lincolns lived during the "deep snow" winter of 1830-1831, is to be further improved this fall by the Illinois Department of Conservation at a total cost of about \$12,500. Several hundred trees were planted last year and the picnic area enlarged.

The final phase of improvement on this park, Director Glen D. Palmer announces, will be the erection of a plaque showing a replica of the Lincoln cabin and an explanation of historical happenings in the area. It was from this place in the spring of 1831 that Abraham Lincoln started for New Salem and Thomas Lincoln with his family for their final home in Coles County.

THE SECOND STORY OF THE LINCOLN HOME

One hundred years ago this spring carpenters were busily engaged in raising the Lincoln Home from a \$1,500 story-and-a-half cottage to the two-story house that is the famous shrine of today.

The date of the change is found in a letter in the Illinois State Historical Library written April 3, 1856 by Mrs. John T. Stuart, wife of Lincoln's first law partner and Mrs. Lincoln's cousin, to her daughter Bettie, a student at Monticello

presence and the same evening in Jacksonville, Colonel [William B.] Warren gave a bridal party to his son [Philip] who married Miss [Cordelia] Birchall of this place which occasion robbed us of some of our friends. You will think we have enlarged our borders since you were here." Carl Sandburg and Paul M. Angle, *Mary Lincoln, Wife and Widow*, 198-99.

Female Seminary in Godfrey. Mrs. Stuart wrote: "Mr. Lincoln has commenced raising his back building two stories high. I think they will have room enough before they are done, particularly as Mary seldom ever uses what she has."

The cost of the work on the Home—\$1,300—and the names of the contractors, Hannan & Ragsdale, are contained in a summary of Springfield building activities in 1856, published in the *Illinois State Journal* on January 6, 1857. The partnership of Daniel Hannan and Thomas Ragsdale, with a shop on Third Street between Adams and Monroe, was one of the city's leading building firms.

Available sources showing Lincoln's activities day by day during the spring of 1856 make it certain that the change was not made by Mrs. Lincoln without her husband's knowledge while he was out of town riding the Eighth Judicial Circuit. The story that he failed to recognize his house on his return was not made public until many years later; if it occurred, it must have been one of Lincoln's jokes and not intended to be taken seriously.

It would be more logical to assume that Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln discussed the space situation, since their oldest son Robert was approaching thirteen, Willie was five and Tad three. Lincoln contracted for the work before leaving on the circuit, and he was home at various times while the work was being done.

Since Mrs. Lincoln had recently sold for \$1,200 an eighty-acre tract of land which her father had given her, she may have used some of this money to help pay the remodeling costs.

When Lincoln purchased the five-year-old house in 1844 from the Rev. Charles Dresser, the Episcopal minister who had officiated at the Lincoln marriage, it had two half-story bedrooms at the front where even a person of average height could stand erect only in the middle under the peak of the gable. The one-story wing at the back had a nearly flat roof and no second story.

The improvements of a century ago raised the front bedroom ceilings to full height and added four rooms at the rear; one large and one small bedroom, a maid's or "extra" room and another small room that Mrs. Lincoln used for storage. It was only last year that this second story was restored as it was when the Lincolns lived there, and opened to the public.⁴

"A VERY NICE LITTLE SPEECH"

In early 1861 the Rev. G. W. W. Birch was supplying the pulpit of Springfield's Third Presbyterian Church, having apparently arrived late in January or at the beginning of February.⁵ In a letter to his cousin Eleanor J. Hays⁶ he gives an excellent summary of Lincoln's farewell speech to the people of Springfield which he had heard earlier in the day:

SPRINGFIELD ILLINOIS

FEB 11TH 1861

MY DEAR COUSIN

Here I am at Springfield, have preached two sermons, shook hands with Old Abe, and am in my usual health. . . . I had a very pleasant trip out here but now I am like a stranger in a strange land. I am not suffering however for want of attention for the people are extremely kind. My physician advised me to come here. Mr. Lincoln left this morning for the city of Washington. He was very much affected and made a very nice little speech. He seems to be deeply impressed with the great responsibility that rests upon him. He said that he had a great task to perform but he asked God's assistance and he knew that if he had that he would not fail. There are some splendid looking ladies out here. . . . I would like to see you all again. I do not expect to stay here longer than the second Sabbath of March. Whether I will come back again I know not. Mother does not care about me being

⁴ The story of the restoration is told in Richard S. Hagen, "What a Pleasant Home Abe Lincoln Has," in the Spring 1955 issue of this *Journal*, pp. 5-27, with floor plans and illustrations.

⁵ The *Illinois State Journal* of Feb. 9 has the following notice: "The Rev. Mr. Burch [*sic*] will preach in the Third Presbyterian Church, to-morrow, (Sunday,) morning." Under date of Feb. 17 Browning notes in his diary: "At night went to 3rd Pres. Church, and heard Mr Burch, a young gentleman preaching in trial."

⁶ This letter is a new acquisition of the Illinois State Historical Library. Before her marriage in 1860 Mrs. Hays was Miss Eleanor Wherry of Shippensburg, Pa. Her husband George Price Hays later became president of Washington and Jefferson College and moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly.

so far away from home. I am going to try and write a new sermon this week. It must be awful hard work to get up two. . . . Rain and mud have been predominant here for the last two days. I never saw such mud as they have here—greasy sticky stuff. This is all I have to write at present. Write to me very soon. Direct to the care of E. B. Pease Esq Box 333 Springfield Illinois. . . .

Your aff. cousin

G. W. W. BIRCH

Of the several versions of Lincoln's speech, the one written on the train immediately after leaving Springfield—partly by Lincoln and partly at his dictation by his secretary John G. Nicolay—was later inscribed on the Andrew O'Connor Lincoln statue in front of the statehouse in Springfield. The Rev. Birch must have listened intensely as President-elect Lincoln movingly expressed what was in his heart:

My friends—No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe every thing. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when, or whether ever, I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being, who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in Him, who can go with me, and remain with you and be every where for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.⁷

NEW SALEM COMMEMORATION

On April 22 ceremonies co-sponsored by the state and Lincoln College commemorated the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's arrival at New Salem. The event was originally scheduled for the Kelso Hollow

⁷ *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association ed., 1953), I: 190-91. The note on page 191 discusses the history of the various versions. The one given above is also the version used by the Hon. G. William Horsley in the final scene of Robert E. Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, presented annually by the Abe Lincoln Players, Inc. at New Salem State Park. [The 1956 season will be extended an extra week-end. The 11th annual production will run from Aug. 16-19, 24-26, 31, Sept. 1-2. Admission will be \$1 for adults and 25 cents for children.]

Amphitheater at New Salem State Park, but inclement weather forced a change to the Central Presbyterian Church at Petersburg.

Principal speaker was Bruce Catton, author and editor of *American Heritage*, whose subject was "Lincoln's Most Difficult Decisions." Governor William G. Stratton spoke briefly and Dr. Stewart McClelland, trustee of Lincoln College, paid tribute to the late Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Illinois State Historian and Lincoln scholar.

President Raymond Dooley of Lincoln College awarded honorary degrees to Catton; Avard Fairbanks, Salt Lake City, Utah; Carlos C. Steed, Johnson City, Tennessee; Justin G. Turner, Los Angeles, California; and Clyde C. Walton, Iowa City, Iowa.

TREMONT COURTHOUSE MARKER

The Illinois State Historical Society early in June erected a marker on the site of the old Tremont courthouse in Tazewell County. Claude U. Stone of Peoria was in charge of arrangements. The inscription reads:

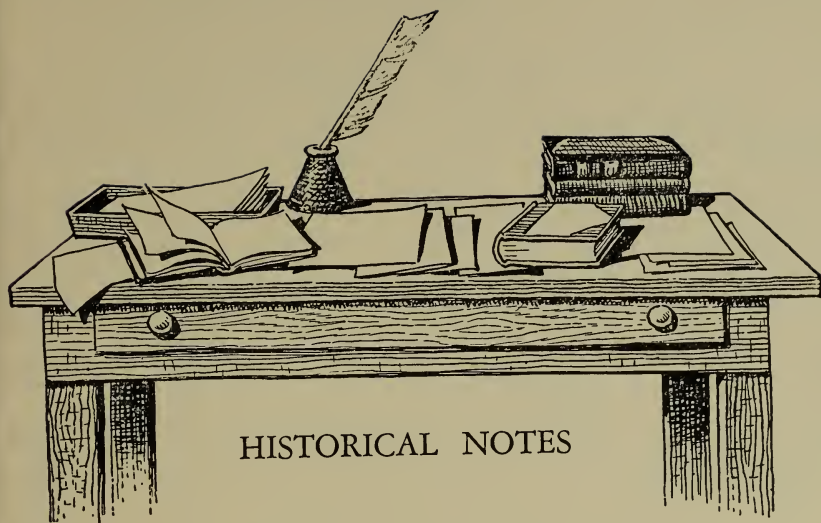
TREMONT COURTHOUSE

1839-1850

Abraham Lincoln attended court in the fine two story rectangular brick courthouse with four Grecian columns and copper dome on this site. Here in 1842 he was challenged to a duel by James Shields. Lincoln last spoke here August 30, 1858. Erected by the Illinois State Historical Society 1956.

THE JOURNAL'S FRONT COVER PHOTOGRAPH

The photograph of Dr. Harry E. Pratt on the front cover of this *Journal* was taken on November 10, 1955 by Carl Tolpo of Barrington, Illinois, sculptor of the bronze bust of Lincoln on the right end of the mantel. The marble bust at the left is by Martin Milmore (1844-1883); and the painting above the mantel, by Charles A. Sweet of Chicago, is one of several notable Lincoln portraits in the Henry Horner-Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library.



HISTORICAL NOTES

GEORGE FLOWER OF ALBION SEEKS A LOAN

BY EDGAR L. DUKES

Only rarely among the interesting letters of more than a century ago is one found that crossed the ocean and helped to bind two continents together. Such a missive, however, was recently lent me by Lieutenant Colonel Henry Stanley Flower, O.B.E., of Sussex, England, now retired, who graciously gave me permission to publish it.

It was written in 1842 by his great-great-uncle George Flower, one of the founders of Albion, Illinois, twenty-four years earlier. Flower, a well-educated and prosperous middle-class farmer, came to America in 1816 to investigate the possibilities of settling in this new country. That year he traveled westward as far as Louisville, Kentucky, then turned back to spend the winter with Thomas Jefferson at Monticello.

The following spring he was joined by a party of his friends, including Morris Birkbeck and surveyor Elias Pym Fordham. They set out for Boultinghouse Prairie, of which they had heard in England. This part of southern Illinois seemed ideal for their purposes—the prairies for cultivation and the nearby woods to supply building material and fuel. After investigating, they bought from the government an area about four by five miles in extent—the Prairie and considerable forest land.

To this purchase the English colony came in 1817-1818. Many of the people were trained in other vocations as well as agriculture. Their need for

a trading center led to the founding of Albion in 1818. It became the seat of justice of Edwards County in 1821. The transformation of the wilderness into a civilized community required a heavy outlay of cash for cutting roads and building bridges, houses, mills and the brick courthouse. Flower and his mother also lost heavily through the failure of the State Bank of Illinois.

In 1842 Flower was living in "Park House" with his family and his widowed mother. This home, built by him for his parents, was considered the finest in the young state, and this letter, addressed to Attorney Joseph Wead, Royston, Hertfordshire, England, shows the straits to which he was reduced trying to save it. The quarter-sections he intended to sell and those he offered as security for a loan in England can easily be identified in the accompanying picture.

Flower was also an artist, as shown by the sketch of Boultinghouse Prairie appearing on the third page of his letter and reproduced herewith. It is beautifully done, and is particularly valuable historically because it shows the location and construction of each house. The letter follows:

ALBION EDWARDS COUNTY ILLINOIS DECR 22. 1842

DEAR SIR

My long absence from England, has left me but few correspondants indeed my exchange of letters is now limited to my Brother. As the business upon which I desire information is almost necessarily connected with your proffession I address this letter to you professionally, as well as upon the score of former acquaintance. The limits of half a sheet require the utmost brevity. My Mother has sustained a loss of all her money in the U.S. Bank, when that institution failed. No personal inconvenience has yet occur'd to her in consequence I am happy to say, as my farm supplies her houshold with meat, Bread—vegetables fruits & fuel. A small amount of money yet preserved to her in the rent of two houses—allows her to keep her servants & furnish her Clothing.

You know the disasters & discredit that has since overtaken almost every State in the Union. Illinois had two Banks, viz the "Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown" & the State "Bank of Illinois" These institutions furnished 5,000,000 of Dollars circulation. They have failed. From these and other causes the utmost pecuniary difficulty prevails. Thus the act of prudence (in keeping some *money* in what was considered the best institution in the Country) has been the source to us of some difficulty. Banks when they fail here do not die an instant death as with you, but linger long, their paper getting lower & lower. From the causes above stated I am left almost without a dollar, but in the possession of a handsome property, of 16000 acres of land on which I reside, town property, a valuable flock of fine wooled

To be Sold by Private Contract,

THE BEAUTIFUL ESTATE OF

Park House,

NOW OCCUPIED BY RICHARD FLOWER, ESQ.

AND

SITUATED WITHIN ONE MILE OF THE

TOWN OF ALBION, STATE OF ILLINOIS.

PARK HOUSE

Is built with Hewn Logs, neatly Stuccoed, and has the appearance of a Stone House; it is 42 feet in front by 40 feet in depth, with four Rooms on the Ground Floor, 19 by 16 feet each; an Entrance Hall, 10 feet by 40, and two Wings, each 20 feet in length; one of which is a Kitchen, and the other a Lodging-room; a good Cellar under the latter. On the Second Floor there are four Rooms, three of which are used as Chambers, and one as a Store Room; also a small Room over one end of the Hall.

The South side has a Veranda, six and a half feet wide, running the whole length of the House; the Hall and two other Rooms open into it with French Windows, in front of which is the Garden, well planted with Fruit Trees, and ornamented with Grass Plots and Flowering Shrubs, laid out in the English style; beyond is a Peach and Apple Orchard, from which several hundred bushels of Fruit have been gathered of the choicest kind in one season. The Climate also produces the finest fruit of the Melon tribe.

BELONGING ALSO TO THIS ESTATE, AND WITHIN ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YARDS OF PARK HOUSE, IS

A FARM HOUSE,

Containing one large Dining-room, four Bed-rooms, Kitchen, Store-room, &c. with a Smoke or Bacon House, and other Offices detached; a capacious Farm Yard, with Stables, Barn, Cow-house, Piggery, Sheep, and Cattle Yards, Slaughter-house, and other convenient Buildings; Granaries capable of containing 2,000 bushels of Corn. Also THREE THOUSAND ACRES OF RICH PRAIRIE AND WOODLAND; 400 Acres of the same being enclosed. The whole lies together, and is suitable to the growth of Wheat, Rye, Oats, Indian Corn, Cotton, Hemp, Flax, Tobacco, &c.

The Houses are well supplied with good Water; and in different parts of the Farm, Springs are found at a short distance from the surface, some within six or eight feet. Both Residences are surrounded with small Grass Paddocks and Woodland Pastures.

ADVERTISEMENT FOR THE SALE OF PARK HOUSE

The original of this broadside advertising the sale "by Private Contract" of the Flower property at Albion is eight and one-half by ten and one-half inches in size. It was loaned to Edgar L. Dukes by Lieutenant Colonel Flower of England along with the letter from George Flower. The exact date of this broadside with its full description of the estate has not been established. It states that "Park House, [is] now occupied by Richard Flower, Esq." and Richard, who was the father of George, died in 1829. The E. F. Flower,

Also Two STONE HOUSES, in the Town of Albion, each 40 feet in front, with Gardens. And a well-built BRICK TAVERN, containing ten Rooms, with Cellar, Tap-room, &c. and Stabling.

Also a GRIST MILL, built of Stone, and worked by four Oxen, on an inclined Plain: and a COTTON GIN for separating Cotton from the Seed.

Also Ten good LOG HOUSES, with Brick and Stone Chimnies, suitable for Labourers or Mechanics; with 150 lots of Land for Building, each from a Quarter of an Acre to Seven Acres in size. (The Town is laid out on a section or mile square of land, and the Building lots in the centre contain a Quarter of an Acre, and increase in size they approach the outside, where they terminate in Lots of Seven Acres each.)

The Town of Albion is situated on a pleasing eminence, half-way between the Great and Little Wabash Rivers, surrounded by Woodland for about a mile, when the Prairies open to your sight, presenting delightful Views, with a diversity of Building Sites, so highly picturesque, that the only difficulty is that of choice.

The Great Wabash, (navigable for Boats of a large size) is about eight miles from Albion, and falls into the Ohio, on which River Steam Boats constantly ply between Pittsburg and New Orleans.

The healthiness of the Town of Albion and its Vicinity is now fully proved by a trial of eight years. It possesses great advantages over many Settlements in the Western Country, from having nearly an equal proportion of Prairie and Woodland, which gives the Settler abundance of Wood, while he has a sufficient quantity of land clear for cultivation without the labour of destroying Timber.

The Town of Albion is the seat of justice for Edward's County; is fast increasing in trade and population; and there has lately been a good School established.

The Price required for this Estate is Thirteen Thousand Pounds in England. Implements of Husbandry, Horses, Stock, &c. may be taken at a fair valuation.

If further information is wanted, enquire of E. F. FLOWER, (who has resided six years upon the spot) at Messrs. JOHN GRAYES and SON, Broad Street Granary, Birmingham; if by letter, post paid.

mentioned in the last paragraph of the broadside, was Edward Fordham Flower, youngest son of Richard, who went to England in 1824 and remained. George Flower went to New Harmony, Indiana, in 1849 by which time he had deeded Park House to his son Alfred. The latter sold the house and farm to Thomas Mumford in 1850—"at a low price," his father said. This property changed owners several times in the next decade. The house presumably was still standing at the beginning of the Civil War, but later it was destroyed by fire.

sheep &ct &ct. I owe as principal and security to these two Banks 5000 dollars Their paper has depreciated one half, & had I any good dollars to command by the purchase of their paper my liabilities would be actually reduced one half. It may be asked why not sell some property, simply because there is *no* money to buy with at this time. These extraordinary monetary revulsions have overtaken us like a thief in the night. I am desirous of preserving my valuable property & not have it sacrificed to a broken bank.

I wish to borrow £1500 upon a part or even the whole of my property and would consent to give (if needs be) 5 per Cent for the same if the interest is made payable in England, or 6 per Cent if the interest is payable in America. I say annually because the sale of the fleeces of my fine woolled flock would be the fund for the interest.

As interest is so low in England I apply to *you* and to my *Brother* to whom I have also written to know if you can find the sum I have named to be loaned on landed Security.

If I were a *State* or *Nation* in the Western hemisphere, I should abandon the Idea of borrowing in England—from their utter and deserved discredit. But as Banks & Funds are out of all favour, money individually is now only lent on Bond and Mortgage. The wool growing business is yet a good one and Illinois will soon be a second Australia in the production of that article. I have hitherto kept about 400 fine woolled sheep rather as a Gentleman farmer, now I must extend my flock and make it keep me. The depreciation of all farm produce is so great that I have discharged all hired labour, & my farm & flock are very efficiently conducted by my five Sons.

I have sketched with my pen an outline of my property. The woods surround the prairie & the lands within the *squares* which are quarter Sections of 160 Acres each are mine. They were the first choice of the Country. No Noblemans park in England can surpass it in beauty, nor approach it in fertility. It is a spot on which I have lived and intended to leave it to my children. But circumstanced as I am I shall take the first opportunity of selling a portion of it. Speaking of the loan on Mortgage I would take it paying the principal at 6 Months notice at any time, or for Four years certain. The property has been variously estimated according to the times from eighteen to thirty thousand dollars. My Brother knows it all. The title is new, perfect & Clear.

My attorney in this Country is Mr E. B. Webb of Carmi White County Ills—a gentleman who stands deservedly at the head of his profession. Should you be so fortunate as to procure this loan for me, I will thank you to be very particular in describing the forms you require, which instruction I should submit to him & leave him to see properly executed. You of (course in this business) are my atty in England and whatever agency or other

business charges accrue will be cheerfully & thankfully accounted for by me. I shall be in great need of at least £500 of the £1500 by next April.

If you will have the kindness to exchange a line with my Brother & give me an early reply you will much oblige

YOUR OBDT SERV'T

GEORGE FLOWER

I have put in nearly the whole of my possession that the most ample security may be offered if so much is desired, tho yet I should prefer leaving out those three qrs marked X as I think I shall sell them in the course of a year or two in that case there would be less difficulty in giving an immediate title

The property which I offer as security is

	N.E. of	11	100 Acres
	S.E. of	11	160
	N.E.	14	160
	N.W.	13	160
	S.W.	12	160
also X	S.W.	14	160
X	S.E.	14	160
X	S.W.	13	160
			<hr/> 1220 acres
270 of which are in cultivation			

SEVEN BROTHERS IN DRY GOODS IN ILLINOIS

BY GEORGE TRESSLER SCOTT

The common experiences and characteristics of the twelve congenial children of Thomas and Martha Swan Scott predisposed their mutual devotion and life-long unity.¹ A cohesive and co-operative spirit within the family is clearly revealed in the close, interlocking relationships of the seven brothers and some of their five sisters in the Dry Goods business in northern Illinois. A beginning in the handling of cloth may have been the father's connection with the linen trade in County Down, Northern Ireland, where he raised and prepared flax for weaving and may have woven linen. Three of his sons worked, probably as apprentices, in drapers' stores there, William in the home town of Rathfriland or in Newry, and George and Robert in Henry Hawkins' store in Newry and then, it is said, with Robertson & Cleaver, the famous linen house in Belfast. Also working then in Hawkins'

¹ This article is an excerpt from a 76-page illustrated brochure entitled "The Family of Thomas Scott and Martha Swan Scott" by the Rev. Mr. Scott. Copies of the brochure may be obtained, through the courtesy of the author, by writing to this *Journal*.

store were trainees Samuel Carson and John T. Pirie who left for America in 1854, entered the Murray establishment in Peru, Illinois, and in December opened their own store in nearby La Salle; in April 1855 they rented a saloon which had just been closed by the Vigilance Committee in Amboy, Illinois, opened a Dry Goods store and had first day sales of \$40—"a reputable sum." Here they urged their friends George and Robert Scott to join them.

The entire Scott family of fourteen, after helping to quell a sailors' mutiny at sea, arrived in America in 1856; sons George and Robert immediately went west to Amboy; the rest of the family resided for some time in Westfield, New York. In 1857 George and Robert Scott became partners in the Carson-Pirie firm. In rapidly growing Illinois the Dry Goods business expanded, the two scouts reported favorably on the Promised Land, and other Scott brothers entered it; 1857 saw new stores started in Mendota by Robert and William, later joined by Thomas, Jr., and at Galena; William opened a store for the firm in 1858 at Polo, where his younger brothers in their teens joined him—Samuel in 1859 and James in 1861; in 1859 a branch was begun in Sterling. The youngest brother John at fifteen years of age became the first errand boy in the Amboy store, living above it with the Pirie family and receiving board and \$50 for the first year with an annual \$50 increase; at the end of the third year he had saved \$150. In this pioneering project in their new homeland the seven Scott brothers had the cordial co-operation of their five sisters as homemakers and as occasional salesladies in busy periods. These five enterprises in neighboring towns did retail and some wholesale merchandising in the 1850's and were surely one of the first store-chains in Illinois.

About this time an interesting comment on merchants was made by Ralph Waldo Emerson. On his first extended lecture tour to the West he wrote in his journal: "I am greatly pleased with the merchants. In rail car and hotel it is common to meet only the successful class, and so we have favorable specimens; but these discover more manly power of all kinds than scholars, behave a great deal better, converse better, and have inexpressive and sufficient manners."

To supply the five retail stores, which also did some wholesale selling, and to expand their business, the Carson and Pirie firm decided to open a jobbing house in a large city; after considerable investigation and a real debate upon the relative futures of Quincy and Chicago, the latter was chosen. A wholesale house was opened there in 1864 at 20 Lake Street, the firm members, Samuel Carson, John T. Pirie, George Scott and Robert Scott, moving to Chicago. The above five branch stores, except Mendota, were closed, probably in 1864.

The Mendota business was taken over in 1864 by "Scott Brothers," *viz.*

William, Thomas, Samuel, James and John. In Ottawa, thirty miles south-east, a wholesale and retail business was planned for the two youngest brothers, and a still younger brother-in-law, Jacob E. Houtz, to be "staked" by the older brothers. James died in 1868; the store was opened that year by John Scott and Jacob Houtz (respectively twenty-four and twenty-three years old) as Scott, Houtz & Company. Samuel joined them in 1870. The next year the Ottawa firm opened in Bloomington "a very large store" (according to a news item) with Samuel in charge. In February 1873 Samuel was in Streator (reconnoitering for a new store?) when his sister Mrs. Houtz died in Ottawa; then Mr. Houtz took over Bloomington and Samuel returned to the Ottawa business which then became Scott Brothers & Company. In 1887 Samuel opened a bank in Salina, Kansas; John bought his Ottawa interest, the firm becoming J. E. Scott & Company. Four years later John joined Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company in Chicago when Samuel took over the Ottawa enterprise which was incorporated in 1892 as The Ottawa Dry Goods Company. In 1902 Samuel sold his interest and retired. Meanwhile in Mendota William and Thomas successfully carried on Scott Brothers (locally called the "W. & T. Store") until 1885 when Thomas took up farming in Kansas and William retired; most of their goods were bought by their brothers in Ottawa and carted there by wagons.

The evolution of the by-line on the Ottawa letterhead is interesting: "Wholesale & Retail Dealers in Dry Goods and Carpets" (in Bloomington "Notions" replaces "Carpets"); in 1875 "Wholesale" drops out and "Fancy Goods a Speciality" is added; in 1883 it reads "Dry Goods, Carpets, Notions, &c." and then "Dry Goods, Carpets, Shoes and Millinery—Wholesale & Retail"; in the 1890's "Shoes" drops off and in 1900 "Wholesale" has gone and the firm handles "Dry Goods, Carpets, Cloaks, Suits, Household Ware, Etc.—" When the writer worked there in the 1890's by far the largest percentage of profit was made on millinery; he sold women's hosiery (black or white) for ten cents a pair, and eighteen-inch corsets.

The ideals and methods of this successful pioneer enterprise give life and meaning to the bare skeleton of places, dates and names and offer a glimpse of working conditions a century ago. The entire Scott family was strongly religious; the Carson and Pirie families were equally pronounced Christians, the latter being members of the devout Plymouth Brethren fellowship. These three families substantiate historian Arnold J. Toynbee who declares that man's work can be healthy and beneficent only when it is subordinate to his faith and that the spiritual driving force of religion must continue in control of our work or calamity comes. Strict discipline and long hours applied to employer and employee alike. The following rules (perhaps interpolated a bit by now) traditionally controlled the Amboy store in the

late 1850's: "Store must be open from 6 A.M. to 9 P.M.,—must be swept, dusted; lamps trimmed, filled, and chimneys cleaned; pens made; doors and windows opened; a pail of water, also a bucket of coal brought in (before breakfast if there is time); attend to customers who call. . . . Store must not be opened on the Sabbath unless necessary, and then only for a few moments. The employe who is in the habit of smoking Spanish cigars, being shaved at the barber's, going to dances and places of amusement will surely give his employer reason to be suspicious. . . . Each employe must pay not less than \$5 per year to the Church and must attend Sunday School regularly. Men employes are given one evening a week for courting and two if they attend prayer meeting. Leisure hours should be spent mostly in reading." Similar methods obtained in the other stores. Samuel told the writer how he and a brother closed a store after customers had left after 9 P.M. (10 P.M. on Saturday), covered the goods, swept the floor, got out their bedding from under the counters, slept on the counters, got up very early, built the fire, dusted woodwork and showcases, breakfasted, removed the coverings and opened for business at 7 A.M.—a work week of about eighty hours. These Spartan practices of arduous beginnings were steadily ameliorated.

Various progressive movements were led or shared in by the Scott brothers, for instance opening later at 8 A.M. and closing earlier at 8 P.M., and by 1891 at 6 P.M. except on Saturday, and giving the customer the benefit of any doubt; "a customer must never leave dissatisfied." These stores led with arc lights, telephones and passenger elevators. A benevolent and protective practice was the use of a rotary loan fund of a fixed, total amount for small unsecured loans; a would-be borrower was courteously referred to "the cashier who handles the personal lending account and who alone knows what balance is on hand." To improve service, the partners and department heads would visit large stores in Chicago and New York and specialists like window-dressers would come to show the smaller stores how to have "The State Street Look."

Chicago, turbulent and boastful in her growing pains, was fast becoming a real metropolis; the double brothers-in-law, Samuel Carson and John T. Pirie, and two Scott brothers, George and Robert, were promoting the process. Expanding from the Wholesale, started in 1864 at 20 Lake Street, a Retail store was opened at 136 West Lake Street in 1867 which a fine young Scotsman, Andrew MacLeish, managed. In 1869 both types of business were combined in a five-story Potter Palmer building at 116-118 State Street, the retail section occupying the two lower floors. In the Great Fire of October 9, 1871 this building was destroyed; on the night before when the wind shifted the flames and sparks eastward toward State Street, Robert

Scott and Andrew MacLeish fought their way from the West Side through smoke, crowds and wild confusion to the store; they got out the books, papers and much valuable merchandise, paying passing teamsters up to \$50 a load to cart it to supposed safety. The \$50,000 worth of goods they salvaged had to be hastily shifted twice more and ended up in a barn down on Wabash Avenue. Time was readily extended on the firm's obligations which were met when due; the partners centered their energies and resources in their own business, avoiding other ventures, although real estate speculation was very tempting; thus they always had ready money and the highest credit rating.

The Wholesale later was at Madison and Franklin streets, operating from 1873 under the name Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company; in 1891 it was moved by "more than 100 trucks and an army of men in three days" to a larger building at Adams and Franklin streets. Business was growing. In 1925 the merchandising, accounts and good will of the wholesale Dry Goods firm of John V. Farwell were bought; the goods were sold to thousands of retailers from all over the country, and in two busy days 1,500 men working around the clock trundled 50,000 tons of Carson, Pirie, Scott merchandise across a specially constructed bridge above the street and into the new home at 366 West Adams Street. When the Federal Government needed large space for its war activities, the firm in 1942 transferred to it this building, closing out its wholesale business except floor coverings handled in the Merchandise Mart. The Wholesale had its buying centers in various countries and buyers constantly traveling throughout Europe, Asia and Latin America; hundreds of traveling salesmen carried samples and catalogues far and wide in North America. When this part of the enterprise terminated in 1942, the four early members of the firm (Samuel Carson, John T. Pirie, George Scott and Robert S. Scott) and later members (Andrew MacLeish, John E. Scott, his son John William Scott, Samuel C. Pirie and John T. Pirie, Jr.) had passed away. Nine fine men! Continuing then in the Retail business were Gordon L. Pirie, John T. Pirie, Jr. (III), Robert L. Scott, Frederick H. Scott and Bruce MacLeish of the younger generations.

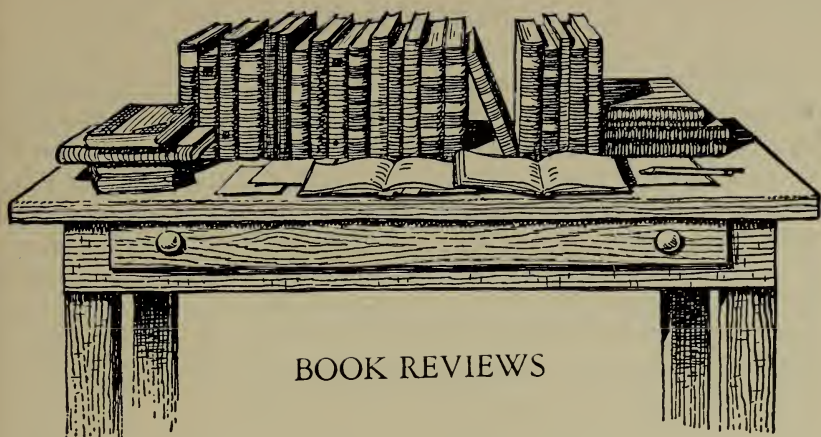
After the Great Fire the Retail located at Madison and Peoria streets on the West Side. A second store was opened in 1876 at Clark and Erie streets on the North Side. The firm leased a newly constructed building in 1877; Marshall Field wanted it, bought it and paid Carson, Pirie, Scott \$100,000 to cancel its lease. The Gossage building at State and Washington was purchased in 1883 and the North Side store closed; four years later the West Side store was moved downtown to Wabash and Adams; the two were combined in 1890 in a handsome, remodeled structure at State and Washington. Horse-drawn omnibuses carried customers between the railway depots and the store. The next and latest move by the Retail was in 1904 to the

new twelve-story building at State and Madison, called "the busiest corner in the world." The present fifteen-floor Men's Store was added in 1927 at Wabash and Monroe, with connections on all floors with the State Street store in the same city block. In that year Carson, Pirie, Scott made the first shipment by Chicago's new Air Express. Today branch stores are being placed in the suburbs, something like the original chain of a century ago!

The firm was incorporated in 1919 with Samuel C. Pirie as president; he was succeeded in 1929 by John T. Pirie, Jr., in 1940 by Frederick H. Scott, in 1946 by Bruce MacLeish and in 1952 by John T. Pirie, Jr. (III). Frederick H. Scott became chairman of the board and then chairman of the Finance Committee; in May 1956 he relinquished connection with the firm. His son Frederick H. Scott, Jr., and his nephew Robert L. Scott, Jr., are directors. Two generations spanned the entire century in Dry Goods!

The centennial of the opening of the La Salle store by Messrs. Carson and Pirie was celebrated in 1954 in Chicago. One feature was a large banquet sponsored by the State Street Council at which Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company announced its gift of \$70,000 as prizes for plans to improve Chicago's commercial district and for scholarships in the fields of government, education, social service and business administration. In commemorating this centennial with a special twenty-page section, the *Chicago Tribune* commented: "A great Chicago mercantile family looks ahead to a new century. . . . Hardy founders from a tiny store to a world famous establishment based their hopes of success on hard work, thrift and rugged integrity. Following in their steps, their successors have never counted the cost of achievement nor lost faith in . . . the future of the midwest. This is the pioneers' dream without which there would be no Chicago. We of the *Chicago Tribune* think that this heritage of courage and purpose will serve as an imperishable foundation."

The present year 1956 ends a century of this Scott family in Illinois, an able, adaptable and closely co-operative group. The members were quietly but clearly Christian in profession and practice. They conducted ethical, progressive, respected and successful businesses. These Seven Scott Brothers in Dry Goods were highly contributive to many aspects of life and served their generation well.



BOOK REVIEWS

The Man Who Elected Lincoln. By Jay Monaghan. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company: Indianapolis, 1956. Pp. x, 334. \$4.50.)

Charles Henry Ray, senior editor of the *Chicago Tribune* from 1855 to 1863, has always been a rather dim historical figure, overshadowed by his partner Joseph Medill, who survived him by nearly thirty years. From this undeserved obscurity Ray has now been rescued by Jay Monaghan, former Illinois State Historian and well known as the author of numerous books, including several on the Civil War period. Combining energetic research with a lively style, Monaghan clearly demonstrates that this able, aggressive antislavery crusader was one of the chief architects of the *Tribune's* editorial policies during the years when it was emerging as one of the nation's most influential newspapers. He also proves that Ray played no small part in the rise of Abraham Lincoln and in the maneuvers that won him the presidential nomination in 1860. Unfortunately, these and other worthwhile contributions are offset by certain weaknesses which impair the book's value to serious students of American history. It is heavily padded, extremely biased, and sometimes more colorful than accurate.

The first thirty years of Ray's life are covered by Monaghan in one short chapter; the last six, in a single abrupt sentence. Most of the text concerns the decade of his association with the *Tribune*. Even for this period the information available on the man himself was apparently thin, and the book is filled with extensive background material that is often of doubtful relevance. For example, more than ten pages are given to the familiar story of the struggle in Congress over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, even though Ray had nothing whatsoever to do with the proceedings.

Monaghan is not quite so extravagant in his estimate of Ray's significance as the title of the biography might lead one to expect, but he has identified himself so completely with his subject that Ray's bitterly partisan viewpoint has become his own. The result is a book that tosses objectivity out the window. Ray and other kindred spirits like Jim Lane of Kansas are cast in heroic molds, while Southerners and Northern moderates "skulk" or "slink" across the stage. Douglas, the arch-villain of the piece, is guilty of "perfidy" and "breach of trust." There is much talk about the "slave-power" and the "tyranny" which it is attempting to fasten upon Kansas. In southern Illinois, according to Monaghan, "People laughed when a Negro was treated like an animal—they thought it taught him to know his place."

In his effort—generally successful—to hold the interest of his reader, Monaghan seasons the book liberally with amusing anecdotes and brings many of Ray's contemporaries vividly to life with deft character sketches. He also indulges in sweeping, dramatic generalizations that oversimplify and distort the complex realities of history. Speaking of Douglas's reply at Freeport, for example, he says that it "permanently split the Democratic Party and assured the election of Lincoln as President of the United States two years hence." Thus the errors in this biography are mostly of the type that result from over-enthusiasm, faulty judgment and misinformation. One sentence on page 103 may be quoted as an illustration: "In June 1858, the Republicans held their state primary convention in Springfield to nominate a senator." Date and place are accurate, but the meeting was in no sense a "primary" convention, and it positively was not convened for the purpose of nominating a senatorial candidate. Both mistakes betray a surprising lack of knowledge about political institutions in the nineteenth century.

The Man Who Elected Lincoln can be read with much pleasure and some profit, but it should also be read with more than a little caution.

Stanford University

DON E. FEHRENBACHER

The Itch of Opinion. By Leo A. Lerner. (Americana House: Chicago, 1956. Pp. 227. \$3.75.)

Carl Sandburg's introduction calls the author a modern Diogenes with a telephone instead of a lantern and Ralph G. Newman's biographical postscript refers to him as "the poor man's William Allen White." Between these two estimates are eighty-six essays of six to sixteen hundred words each, selected from the columns Leo A. Lerner writes twice a week for his seventeen newspapers in north and northwest Chicago and nearby suburbs.

This is current history at its best—what is going on in the mind of a civic leader and newspaperman who can say what he thinks. Lerner writes

about books, games, clothes, travel, Yalta, semantics, eating, Jefferson, F.D.R., art, psychiatry, and even cows and pigs—the sidewalk Socrates is also a part-time farmer. Several of these essays are about Lincoln and one is based on the *Abraham Lincoln Chronology, 1809-1865* by the late Dr. Harry E. Pratt.

The author says he doesn't "have a license for preaching" but he dislikes phoniness in all its forms and goes after it willingly, wittily and lucidly. If a modern fable or a dialogue can best make his point he uses it. He is not above a pun now and then, and delights in an O. Henry ending. He believes the world is slowly getting better and hopes that he can help it along—even if he has to call in Pogo and some of the higher class citizens of Lower Slobbovia.

H. F. R.

The I.W.W.: Its First Fifty Years (1905-1955). Compiled by Fred Thompson. (Industrial Workers of the World: Chicago, 1955. Pp. 203. \$3.00.)

By preserving the purity of its anti-capitalist principles and by refusing (until 1938) to conclude contracts with employers, the I.W.W. has failed to effect any permanently significant organization of the working class. Nevertheless the faithful few retain the optimism expressed in the title of this brief official history. The only useful information not readily available elsewhere is found in the last quarter of the book, covering the comparatively uneventful years since 1930. Bobtailed notes and index, frequent typographical errors and poor printing annoy the reader. Footnotes for the final chapter apparently were lost on the composing room floor.

Springfield, Illinois

ELWIN W. SIGMUND

FAMILY HISTORIES

In the Summer 1955 issue of this *Journal* were listed the names of those who had presented family histories to the Illinois State Historical Library during the previous year. Since the publication of that list (up to June 11, 1956) the Library has received the following genealogies and wishes to thank the donors:

Alcott. Illinois Society D.A.R., "Family Genealogies. Vol. 1. Alcott, Beall, Cooke, Ford, Gallop, Scarborough," from Illinois Society D.A.R. by Mrs. F. E. Richart, Urbana.

Badgley. See *Clark*.

Bahr. William A. Sausaman, *John Bahr and His Descendants*, from author, Springfield.

Barnard. Kenneth Duane Miller, *Barnard-Miller and Allied Families*, from Mrs. K. D. Miller, Park Ridge.

Beall. See *Alcott*.

Benjamin. Edith W. Benjamin, "Benjamin Genealogy . . . Also Pease Genealogy," from author, Bloomington.

Bradford. See *Steele*.

Burwell. Inez Regnier McCullough, "Genealogical Chart of Descendants of Col. Lewis Burwell (1745-1800) Revolutionary Soldier and Anne Spotswood of Virginia" (photostats), from Illinois Society D.A.R. by Mrs. F. E. Richart, Urbana.

Callender. See *Johann*.

Champaign County, Ill. Illinois Society D.A.R., "Champaign County, Illinois, Marriages, 1833-1857," from Illinois Society D.A.R. by Mrs. F. E. Richart, Urbana.

Clark. Estelle Clark Watson, *Loyalist Clarks, Badgleys*, from author, Mrs. Charles H. Watson, Evanston.

Cooke. See *Alcott*.

Cooley. Lura Cooley Hamil, "A Story of Pioneering" and *The First Reunion of the Descendants of Jonathan and Melinda Coolley*, from Ruhama Louise McIntyre, Newman.

Crotchett. Faye Crotchett Jones, *Genealogy: Crotchett-Tanner* from author, Mrs. G. E. Jones, Morrilton, Ark.

DeHaven. See *James*.

Demuth. C. F. Battershell, *The Demuth Family and the Moravian Church*, from Illinois Society D.A.R. by Mrs. F. E. Richart, Urbana.

Dickinson. Richard J. Dickinson, *A Dickinson Family of Virginia and Illinois*, from author, Eureka.

Dixon. George C. Dixon, *The John Dixon Family*, from author, Dixon.

Eastman. Charles J. Eastman, *That Man Eastman*, Vol. 2, from author, Hollywood, Calif.

Everest. Winifred Lovering Holmes, *Descendants of Andrew Everest of York, Maine*, from estate of D. C. Everest, Rothschild, Wis.

Fell. Sarah M. Fell, *Genealogy of the Fell Family in America Descended from Joseph Fell*, from Mrs. Ray Long, Grosse Pointe, Mich.

Ford. See *Alcott*.

Foster. E. T. Randle, *Foster Family History and Genealogy and Other Families Related Thereto*, from Mrs. V. Dale Snyder, Bethany, and Mrs. Charles F. Mansfield, Springfield.

Frost. Walter Lindley Mower, *Frost Family Chronicles*, from Illinois Society D.A.R. by Mrs. F. E. Richart, Urbana.

Fulton County, Ill. Mary Baumgardner, "Fulton County, Illinois, Cemetery Records," from author, Ipava.

Gallop. See *Alcott*.

Gilbert. Hiram Whitney Gilbert, *Memoirs Regarding the Family of John Gilbert (1752-1829)*, from William H. Gilbert, Silver Spring, Md.

Grant. See *Smith*.

Harnish. J. G. Francis, "The Harnish Friendschaft (The Harnish Family) . . . 1729-1926," from Frederick S. Weiser, Glen Ellyn.

Haughey. Edith W. Benjamin, "Haughey Genealogy," from author, Bloomington.

Irons. See *Smith*.

- James.* Erma J. Martindale and Jesse L. Fletcher, "James, DeHaven, Pawling Families, et al.," from Jesse L. Fletcher, Topeka, Kans.
- Johann.* Helen Kaylor Johann, "Ancestors and Descendants of Carl Johann and Georgina Callender," from Helen I. Johann, Madison, Wis.
- Kidder.* S. T. Kidder, *History and Records of the Kidder Family*, from Mary A. Curtis, American Lake, Wash.
- Law.* See *Waters*.
- Lawhon.* See *Wise*.
- Leatham.* Louis H. Leatham, *The Letham or Leatham Family Book of Remembrance*, from author, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Logue.* Mabel Logue Hopkins and Leona Logue Schneider, *The Logues in America and Related Families*, from Mrs. L. P. Schneider, Taylorville.
- Luther.* *The Luther Family*, Vol. I no. 1-Vol. VI no. 20 (July, 1945-April, 1950), from Leslie Luther, Moravia, N.Y.
- McIntosh.* Eva Lyle McIntyre, *McIntosh-McIntyre, Second Family Reunion . . .*, from Ruhama Louise McIntyre, Newman.
- McIntyre.* Irma Redfield McIntyre, "McIntyre Lineage," from Ruhama Louise McIntyre, Newman. See also *McIntosh*.
- Mack.* Harry W. Mack, "The Mack and Sine Families," from author, Detroit, Mich.
- Metzger.* See *Tanger*.
- Miscellaneous.* Illinois Society D.A.R., "Miscellaneous Records," from Illinois Society D.A.R. by Mrs. F. E. Richart, Urbana.
- Norcross.* Elsie M. Cameron, *The English Norcross Family and Some of the Descendants*, from Mrs. Will K. Jones, Wichita, Kans.
- Parker.* See *Wise*.
- Pawling.* See *James*.
- Pease.* See *Benjamin*.
- Penninger.* See *Wise*.
- Petty.* Charles B. Petty, *The Albert Petty Family*, from author, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Reed.* "Letters of B. F. Reed, a Union Soldier," from Illinois Society D.A.R. by Mrs. F. E. Richart, Urbana.
- Renner Funeral Home, Urbana.* Illinois Society D.A.R., "Records of Renner Funeral Home, 1911-1917," from Illinois Society D.A.R. by Mrs. F. E. Richart, Urbana.
- Rice.* Charles Elmer Rice, *By the Name of Rice*; and Elsie Hawes Smith, *More about Those Rices*, from Sturgis C. Rice, Plainville, Mass.
- Scarburgh.* See *Alcott*.
- Sine.* See *Mack*.
- Skiles.* Robert Cutten Read, "Notes on the Skiles Family Genealogy," from author, New York City.
- Smith.* James W. Hook, *Smith, Grant, and Irons Families*, from author, New Haven, Conn.
- Spotswood.* See *Burwell*.
- Steele.* Blanche Willis Allen, "Descendants of William Steele and A. Steele-Bradford Line," from author, Mrs. James K. Allen, Modesto, Calif.
- Tanger.* Frederick S. Weiser, *The Tanger-Metzger Genealogy*, from author, Glen Ellyn.

Tanner. See *Crotchett*.

Thomas. See *Wise*.

Vermilion County, Ill. Illinois Society D.A.R., "Vermilion County, Illinois, Wills," from Illinois Society D.A.R. by Mrs. F. E. Richart, Urbana.

War of 1812. National Society of U.S. Daughters of 1812, *Alphabetical List of Ancestors and Their Descendants . . .*, from Mrs. W. W. Hall, Chicago.

Waters. Philomene Jenkins, *Waters-Law and Allied Families*, from Nebraska State Historical Society.

Wilcox. Irene Wilcox Lord, *From the Bend of the Little River. A Wilcox Book*, from author, Huntington Park, Calif.

Wise. Holly L. Wise and Hazel Wise Hetlage, "Wise, Thomas, Lawhon or Lawhorn, Parker, Penninger," from Miss Holly L. Wise, St. Louis, Mo. and Mrs. Hazel Wise Hetlage, Kewanee, Mo.

Wright. Illinois Society D.A.R., "Wright Family History. Volume II. Genealogy of Richard Wright, Jr. . . .," from Illinois Society D.A.R. by Mrs. F. E. Richart, Urbana.

Young. *Young, 1853-1953*; and W. Hord Tipton, "The Young Family," from Ruhama Louise McIntyre, Newman.



HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S 1956 SPRING TOUR

BY BRUCE KINGSLEY

President, Washington School Junior Historians, Dixon

The Washington School Junior Historians had the honor and privilege of helping to entertain the Illinois State Historical Society on its May 18-19 spring tour in Dixon, beginning on Thursday evening, May 17, with an open house for those who arrived early.¹

Washington School gymnasium was the site of the Historical Workshop program Friday morning. Displays of work by our members were on exhibition, and some of the students dressed as characters in Dixon history served refreshments. George A. Pownall, director of the Junior Historian program, presided. Georgia Behrens of Sterling, Diane Clark of Rockford, James Krolak of La Salle, Bruce Kingsley and Paula Rowe of Dixon, and John H. Hauberg Memorial Award winner William Severns of Chicago read the articles which led to their selection as Junior Historians of the Year. Our sponsor, Mrs. Eva Weinreich, spoke on the development of our organization, and Miss Helen Tennant of Central Junior High School, Rock Island, talked on the program in her school. Other teachers from La Salle, Rock Island and Rockford also commented on their experiences with the program during the discussion period.

At the noon luncheon Herman G. Nelson of Rockford presided. President Leland Carlson of Rockford College spoke on "The Nature of History" and Roger Thompson, city editor of the *Morris Herald*, on "The History of Dixon." (Mr. Thompson was formerly on the staff of the *Dixon Telegraph*.)

The afternoon tour stopped first at the statue on the site of old Fort

¹ This article will appear in the October *Illinois Junior Historian*.

Dixon, which depicts Abraham Lincoln as a captain in the Black Hawk War when he visited Dixon in 1832. At Lowell Park Miss Esther Barton, principal of Lincoln School and a member of the Dixon Park Board, spoke on its history. The visit to "Hazelwood," Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen's estate, included a tea, a tour of the estate including the "Governor" Alexander Charters cabin, and comments by Mrs. Walgreen.

In the evening Governor William G. Stratton dedicated the "Abraham Lincoln Room" in the famed Nachusa House. Governor Stratton and Dr. William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago spoke at the dinner meeting following. John W. Allen, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, presided and Mrs. Merton Carpenter sang "Illinois, Illinois, Illinois," followed by group singing. Dr. Hutchinson's subject was "Lowden and the Rock River Valley Fifty Years Ago."

At the John Deere home in Grand Detour on Saturday morning M. L. Putnam of the John Deere Company spoke to the group. At White Pines State Park Mrs. David Stenmark was the commentator.

The noon luncheon at Oregon was presided over by Mrs. Arthur Beebe, president of the Ogle County Historical Society. Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas, former congresswoman and wife of United States Senator Paul H. Douglas, told of the background, life and work of her distinguished father Lorado Taft, sculptor of many statues including the Indian statue on Rock River commonly called "Black Hawk." Dr. Stewart Thomson of the University of Minnesota made "The History of Ogle County" very much alive.

The afternoon tour included the Lorado Taft campus, the "Black Hawk" statue, and Governor Frank O. Lowden's estate, the present home of his son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Albert F. Madlener, Jr.

President Allen called this meeting one of the best attended and most successful and enriching in the Society's history.

The members of the Washington Junior Historical Society feel greatly rewarded for having had the opportunity of being hosts to this most enthusiastic group, the Illinois State Historical Society.

NEW TRUSTEES AND STATE HISTORIAN APPOINTED

Governor William G. Stratton on April 23 appointed Newton C. Farr of Chicago and Raymond N. Dooley of Lincoln as trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. The third trustee, Dr. Clarence P. McClelland of Jacksonville, has been a member of the board since 1945.

On June 1 the Board of Trustees made the appointment (effective September 1) of Clyde C. Walton, Jr., of Iowa City, Iowa, as Illinois State Historian to succeed Dr. Harry E. Pratt, who died of a heart attack on

February 12. Mrs. Marion D. Pratt, widow of Dr. Pratt, will continue as Acting State Historian through August and will see this issue of the *Journal* through the press.

The new trustees succeeded Benjamin P. Thomas of Springfield and Alfred W. Stern of Chicago, who were appointed in 1945. Thomas, well-known Lincoln author and former executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, resigned from the board in 1953, and Stern, donor of the Stern Civil War Collection to the Historical Library and of many fine Lincoln items to the Library of Congress, resigned in February, 1956.

Trustee Farr is a member of the Chicago real estate firm of Farr, Chincock & Sampson, and a trustee of the Illinois Institute of Technology and Faulkner School (Chicago). He is also chairman of the board of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, and a member of the Chicago Civil War Round Table and the Society of Colonial Wars.

Trustee Dooley is president of Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois and a recognized leader in the junior college field. A native of Bloomington and a graduate of Illinois Wesleyan University, he also took post-graduate work at George Washington University and Harvard.

Mr. Walton was born in Chicago and attended the public schools there. He majored in English at Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, where he was graduated in 1948, and received a master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1950. Since then he has been on the staff of the State University of Iowa Library at Iowa City. He is the founder and editor of *Civil War History*, a new quarterly journal published by the University of Iowa.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

At the fiftieth annual meeting of the Aurora Historical Society, held at the Aurora Historical Museum on May 15, L. Ralph Mead, president; Bess M. Lockhart, secretary; Clarence R. Smith, museum director; and Mrs. Alice Applegate, curator, were re-elected to their respective positions. J. J. Winn and Robert W. Barclay were elected vice-presidents and Ray N. Stolp, treasurer. Retiring officers Newell W. Tanner, Mrs. A. F. Muschler and Eleanor Plain were elected directors of the Society. Holdover directors are Mrs. Harold Atwood, Robert E. Brown, Robert E. Conklin, Vernon S. Derry, Mrs. Ward J. Downs, Mrs. Ralph L. Erlanson, Mrs. J. W. Eckert, Mrs. Helen Manning Meiers, Mrs. Harold Newton, Mrs. K. I. Ochsenschlager, Paul E. Ochsenschlager, Hugh Parker, George H. Simpson, James Simon, Norris Ulness and Mrs. Blanche Watson.

Attendance at the Historical Museum has been the largest since it was opened in 1939. The Cosmopolitan Club, Aurora Gateway Gardeners and Aurora Volunteer Service Bureau have aided the Society and Museum.

Open house at the Bureau County Historical Society's museum on April 29 attracted 325 guests from a number of counties in the area. Special exhibits were on display.

At the Society's annual meeting on June 19 the following officers were elected: Frank Grisell, president; Mrs. Allie Whitney, vice-president; Mrs. Doris P. Leonard, secretary; Duncan L. Bryant, treasurer; Mrs. C. G. Heck, Rolla T. Hensel, Frank Herbolsheimer, Mrs. Ina Shugart Hoover, Wallace Manier and Jack Naffziger, directors.

The Chicago Historical Society held a luncheon and open house on April 24 in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of its founding. Special exhibits will be shown in the Society's museum throughout the year.

"Woodlawn Boys' Club—Today and Yesterday" was the theme of the May 11 meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) at the Woodlawn Regional Branch Library. Dr. Robert C. Caldwell, Norbert Rosenhauer, Mrs. Marcus Mullen and James W. Lyne participated in the program. Community singing was led by Mrs. Samuel N. Moore and Mrs. Oren H. Wright.

Officers of the Society are: Mrs. Patrick A. Gray, president; Mrs. E. J. Chladek, vice-president; Mrs. Frank E. Lindsey, recording secretary; Waunetah Manly, corresponding secretary; Myrtle Moulton, treasurer.

The Du Page County Historical Society opened its activities for 1956 with a spring tea on April 29 at century-old "Gatesknoll" near West Chicago, once the home of John W. ("Bet-a-Million") Gates and now occupied by Mr. and Mrs. William A. Lucht.

On May 20 the Society visited the old Dutch windmill (built 1850) at Mount Emblem Cemetery near Elmhurst, heard a concert from the mill chimes, inspected the mill itself, and walked over the landscaped grounds which contain one of the finest collections of lilacs and spring-flowering shrubs in the area.

The Society and the Elmhurst Historical Commission jointly sponsored an exhibit of historical material on their city at the Elmhurst Public Library. Originally scheduled as a one-month exhibit for June, it attracted so much interest that it is to remain through July.

H. G. Foote and a committee of members of the Society are preparing a *Historical Art Portfolio of Du Page County* to be published in the fall.

Officers of the Society are: H. A. Berens, Elmhurst, president; Michael

Kross, Elmhurst, vice-president; W. H. Milar, West Chicago, secretary; and R. E. Klein, Clarendon Hills, treasurer. Every city and township in the county is represented on the board of directors.

Mrs. Sherman Killough told of the work of the Edwards County health department at the Edwards County Historical Society meeting on April 5.

On May 3 the members of the Society discussed proposed changes in their constitution, and Mrs. Frank Briggs read accounts of boyhood life in Pinch (Enterprise) from a book recently published by William A. Briggs, now of Gary, Indiana.

A millinery display featured the exhibits at the museum of the Evanston Historical Society during May. A number of recent gifts to the museum were also on view.

The Galena Historical Society re-elected the following officers at its annual meeting on June 11: H. L. Heer, president; Dr. R. E. Logan, vice-president; Mrs. George T. Millhouse, Jr., secretary; J. T. Hissem, treasurer; Mrs. Ed Asmus, Dr. R. E. Logan, Alfred Mueller, Louis Nack and Bernard Peschang, directors. Paul Herbert was elected director to fill the unexpired term of the late Thomas McCarthy.

The Society is working for an increase in tourist traffic into Galena. Its membership campaign is under way, the funds from which help support the Society's museum.

At the annual meeting of the Geneva Historical Society on May 20 the Rev. Wayne Reed, pastor of the Congregational Church, read excerpts from its centennial history compiled in 1949. Mrs. Margaret A. Allan gave a brief history of the Julius Alexander house at Second and Franklin streets. Plaques were presented to mark the sites of both buildings.

The following officers were elected: Dr. Charles H. Lyttle, president; Frank M. Jarvis and Miss Mary Wheeler, vice-presidents; Jeanita Peterson, treasurer; Mrs. Margaret A. Allan, secretary; and Mrs. R. A. Davis and Harold Smith, directors for three years.

Lowell A. Dearinger showed colored slides of scenic and historic spots of "Egypt" at the dinner meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society held at Faith Lutheran Church, Mt. Vernon, on April 27.

Knox County Historic Sites, Inc., sponsored tours of the city's historic buildings on "Knoxville Day," June 17. The old courthouse, jail and Hall of Records, St. Mary's Chapel and the Illinois P.E.O. Home were included in the tour. Funds are to be used toward the restoration of the old courthouse, host to Lincoln and Douglas.

Dr. George E. Ekblaw, head of the Illinois Geological Survey, addressed the La Salle County Historical Society's meeting at Oglesby on May 20. His subject was "The Geologic History of the Upper Illinois Valley." Albert Moyle presented highlights of Oglesby history and members of the Oglesby Woman's Club were hostesses. Special honor was paid to Spanish-American War veterans of the county.

The meeting of the Madison County Historical Society held at Alton High School on May 13 was devoted to the Mississippi parkway. Dr. Howard W. Trovillion of Godfrey, chief pilot of the ten-state Mississippi River Scenic Highway Commission, discussed his group's activities and plans. Ralph F. D'Oench of the Mississippi Valley Parkway Foundation, St. Louis, gave an illustrated lecture "Mississippi River Panorama." The Alton High School Boys' Chorus, directed by Mrs. Doris Rue, sang three songs with an "Old Man River" motif.

The Marshall County Historical Society met in Wenona on April 23. Moving pictures of the Wenona centennial were shown and Mrs. Hattie Smith read a paper on the history of Evans Township.

At the meeting in the Henry Methodist Church on May 28 Eleanor Bussell gave a resumé of the Illinois State Historical Society's spring tour. John Boose, Henry mortician, described "Early Cemeteries of Henry and Whitefield Townships," together with the now-vanished communities and churches with which some of these cemeteries were associated.

The Society met in the Richland Township Grange Hall on June 25. It voted to participate in the celebration of Old Settlers' Day in August. Harry Spooner of Peoria told of his research on an early post office near Crow Creek. A paper on the history of the Marshall County courthouse, prepared by Nellie Thompson, was read by her nephew Wayne Ehringer. Howard Braun of Richland Township described the old Indian burial ground located on his farm, which experts say may date back to the twelfth century.

The Mattoon Historical Society met on April 18 and heard Dr. Charles H. Coleman of Eastern Illinois State College discuss "The English Ancestry of the Abraham Lincoln Family." Suzanne Summers read her essay on "The Voice of Democracy" which won her first place in a Mattoon High School contest.

Mrs. Marion D. Pratt, Acting State Historian, was the principal speaker before the meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society on April 27. Thomas A. Beggs, winner of the high school essay contest, read his "Public Transportation in Jacksonville." Judy Potts, who tied for first, and Wanda Tipps, second, in the high school division; and Betty Howard, first, and James Cook and Nancy Ricks, tied for second, in the junior high division of the contest, were presented to the Society by President Clarence P. McClelland.

At the quarterly meeting of the Nauvoo Historical Society held on April 17 Alberta Balmer spoke on the life of Lincoln. Mrs. Donald Brown demonstrated an antique flax spinning machine and a yarn winding machine. H. Arlo Schowalter showed colored slides of views of Nauvoo and of Natchez, Mississippi. Mayor Lowell S. Horton told of his visit to Hermann, Missouri, at the time of that city's centennial, and of the plans of the Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials for a lake in Nauvoo State Park.

Special tours through the historical museum and other historic buildings in Nauvoo were held May 8-13.

The feature of the Ogle County Historical Society meeting in the Leaf River High School on May 14 was a round table discussion of the "Battle of Stillman's Run." Plans for a historical map of the county and for a museum building were discussed.

The Society participated as hosts in the Illinois State Historical Society's spring tour May 18-19.

At the Peoria Historical Society's meeting on May 21 Haskell Armstrong of the *Peoria Journal-Star* spoke on children's games at the turn of the century. Officers for the coming year elected at this meeting are: Raymond N. Brons, president; Mrs. J. C. Thompson, vice-president; Gerald T. Kelsch, secretary; G. R. Barnett, treasurer; Haskell Armstrong, H. S. Chichester and Ruth Montgomery, directors.

Everett McMurray of Du Quoin, Mrs. Bonnie Cain of Pinckneyville and Raymond Lee of Tamaroa spoke on old homes in their respective vicinities at the April 2 meeting of the Perry County Historical Society.

On May 7 Miss Ina Teabeau, Du Quoin teacher, showed slides of Perry County and of Yellowstone National Park. Raymond Lee was elected to a vacancy in the vice-presidency.

President John W. Allen of the Illinois State Historical Society, President Louis Aaron of the Southern Illinois Historical Society and Dr. Oren D. McClure, Du Quoin superintendent of schools, were the speakers at the dedication of a marker at the site of the old Du Quoin Seminary on May 27 under the auspices of the Perry County Society. Six former students of the Seminary—Mrs. May Baker, Mrs. Carrie Davison, Mrs. Nettie Dixon, Mrs. W. O. Edwards, Mrs. Ada Johnson and Mrs. Susan Morris—were special guests.

The Society held a picnic supper at the Du Quoin State Fairgrounds on June 4.

Lowell A. Dearing of Mt. Vernon showed slides of scenic and historic spots in southern Illinois to the Randolph County Historical Society at its meeting in Chester on April 20.

At the Society's meeting in Red Bud on May 18 Judge A. D. Riess recalled some highlights of the county's early history.

A marker in memory of Dr. George Fisher, early Randolph County physician and member of the Constitutional Convention of 1818 and early territorial and state General Assemblies, was dedicated on May 20. The marker, jointly sponsored by the state and county historical societies, was erected at the junction of highways 3 and 155 at Ruma. State Auditor Orville E. Hodge and President John W. Allen of the Illinois State Historical Society were the speakers. Following the ceremonies the group went by car to Dr. Fisher's grave, Prairie du Rocher and Fort Chartres. Tom Connor, Prairie du Rocher historian, described the historic homes of that village.

The Society concluded its 1955-1956 activities with a picnic at the shelter house at Fort Kaskaskia State Park and a tour of the old fort on June 15.

The opening of the Stephen Mack house to the public on June 24 climaxed the efforts of the Rockton Township Historical Society, Winnebago County. The group was organized in the fall of 1952 with the restoration of the home as its principal object, and through the intervening years has sponsored various affairs to raise funds for that purpose. The home and the articles on display in it will be open to the public through September on

Wednesdays and Sundays between 1 and 5 P.M. (Central Standard Time). There is no admission charge, but donations will be used for the upkeep of the home and enlargements of the displays.

J. O. Austin, principal of Ridgway High School, spoke to the Saline County Historical Society on April 3 on his postwar experiences in helping reorganize the Japanese school system. Edward Winters and Dorothy Hanning, Harrisburg High School students, presented musical numbers under the direction of John Schork.

Roger Q. Kimmel of Murphysboro was the speaker at the Society's May 1 meeting, describing and exhibiting items from his collection of "Egypt—Rare and Unusual Historical Items." Charles R. Rann of Carrier Mills presented vocal and piano solos. President Louis Aaron announced that President John W. Allen of the Illinois State Historical Society had offered to donate his collection of historic items to the Saline County Society on condition that a museum be built to house them. A committee was appointed to investigate the possibilities.

The Society met at New Haven on June 5. Andres Bosaw and L. S. Boley, residents of the village, led a discussion on its history.

The Southern Illinois Historical Society held its spring meeting on May 10 at Southern Illinois University's Vocational-Technical Institute near Carterville. A tour of the Institute was made before dinner. After a welcome by the Institute's director Dr. M. Keith Humble and special music by the S.I.U. Air Force R.O.T.C. and Angelaire's Octet, President John W. Allen of the Illinois State Historical Society spoke on "Early Trails and Roadways of Southern Illinois." This was followed by a panel discussion on "Source Materials for Local History" moderated by Mrs. Mel Hall of Carterville. The panelists were Mrs. Rhea Lauder, Mrs. Pearl Bowman and J. W. Hayton of Carterville, N. H. Mallory of Sesser, Mrs. Sam Carter of Colp, and Geoffrey Hughes of Carbondale.

The annual meeting of the Stephenson County Historical Society was held on April 24 at its museum in Freeport. Mrs. B. Curtis Taylor, D.A.R. regent, told of the history of Shawneetown.

The Vandalia Historical Society met on April 17 in the home of James Rexwinkle, the temporary quarters for the Society's museum, open to the public Tuesdays through Saturdays from 2 to 5 P.M. In the absence of

President Joseph C. Burtschi his daughter, Vice-President Josephine Burtschi, presided.

At a picnic supper in the First Methodist Church on May 15 Miss Wauneta Griffin presented the students who had submitted articles to the *Illinois Junior Historian*: Mary Stombaugh, recipient of a Junior Historian of the Year Award from Governor William G. Stratton; Buddy Skidmore, who took the picture used in connection with Mary's article; Judith Dees, Marilyn Forbes, Katherine Petti and Linda Hubbard.

At the Wayne County Historical Society's meeting in the Fairfield Public Library on May 4 Librarian Lila Stonemetz reviewed the "Journal of William McNely to the Far West." This manuscript journal, original in the Illinois State Historical Library, has been transcribed under the Society's auspices by Phil Martin and McNely's granddaughter Mrs. Frank Heidinger.

On May 25 Mrs. Lex Tickner presented a sketch of the life of the late Maria Jane White.

Keith Miller, 13, grandson of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Borah, read a paper on "The American Indian" at the Society's June 29 meeting. All officers were re-elected: Wasson W. Lawrence, president; Kelley Loy, vice-president; Lila Stonemetz, recording secretary; Mrs. Wilma Slagel, corresponding secretary; Rev. J. C. Lappin, treasurer; Mrs. Lex Tickner and Charles Read, directors. Directors whose terms are unexpired are W. D. Crippin, S. O. Dale, Mrs. Frank Heidinger and Peter G. Rapp.

VERMILION COUNTY COVERED BRIDGE BURNED

The old Conkeytown covered bridge over the Salt Fork of the Little Vermilion River was destroyed by fire on the night of April 23-24, reducing the number of surviving covered bridges in the state to eleven.

In 1851 B. D. Conkey opened a general store on the high ground north of Salt Fork. Salt beds along the river and fur-bearing animals in the timber helped make Conkeytown a thriving settlement, shipping to Chicago by wagon train. But the railroads passed it by—the present New York Central building a few miles north and the present Wabash a few miles south—and Conkeytown became a ghost town.

The first bridge on the site was of logs from the old mill on the south side of Salt Fork, which was torn down in 1837. This bridge was washed out by a flood in 1866 and the covered bridge was built the next year. Stone for the abutments was quarried near Fairmount and the lumber for construction was sawed there. The only metal used was the long tie rods connecting the braces. About thirty years ago a metal roof was added. The bridge—

located on the Fairmount-Muncie road, about midway between Champaign and Danville—had been kept in excellent repair by Vermilion County.

The eleven surviving covered bridges in Illinois are located in:

Adams County, over Bear Creek, about four miles north of Camp Point.

Bureau County, over Bureau Creek, about two miles north of Princeton.

Hancock County, on the road from the Keokuk bridge over the Mississippi to Hamilton.

Henderson County, over Henderson Creek, about three miles south of Oquawka.

Henderson County, over Henderson Creek, about a mile east of Oquawka.

Knox County, over Spoon River, about seven miles northwest of Douglas.

Randolph County, over Little Mary's River, near Chester.

Sangamon County, over Sugar Creek, three miles south of the Lake Springfield bridge on U.S. Route 66.

Sangamon County, over Spring Creek, four miles west of Springfield.

Shelby County, over Kaskaskia, about two miles northeast of Cowden.

Warren County, over Swan Creek, about a mile and a half south of Greenbush.

JUNIOR HISTORIAN AWARDS

Governor William G. Stratton presented Illinois Junior Historian of the Year awards to thirty-seven students from twenty-one communities in ceremonies in the Centennial Building, Springfield, on May 11. These awards are made annually, based on the excellence of contributions to the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society and edited by Mrs. Marion D. Pratt, Acting State Historian, and George A. Pownall, director of the Junior Historian program.

Two of this year's winners, Jane Johnson and Dennis Milford of East Junior High School, Alton, also received the award in 1955.

Two special awards were given this year for the first time in honor of John H. Hauberg, Rock Island historian and past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, who died September 13, 1955. Each of these Hauberg Memorial Awards consists of \$25 and a certificate, and is to be presented annually. William Severns, 12, sixth grade student at the Harvard School for Boys, Chicago, was presented the award sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society for the student whose contributions to the *Junior Historian* during the year were judged the most outstanding. This award was presented by President John W. Allen of the Society. Miss Beatrice Teter of Alton received the Rock Island Rotary Club award as the teacher whose contribution was considered outstanding. Walter E. McBride, president of the Club, made the presentation.

Governor Stratton was presented a bound file of the year's issues of the magazine. Mrs. Pratt prefaced the presentation of the awards with a dis-



OUTSTANDING JUNIOR HISTORIAN

Shown with William Severns as he received the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award as the outstanding Junior Historian of the year are, left to right, John W. Allen, President of the Illinois State Historical Society, Governor Stratton and William's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Roger L. Severns.



WINNER OF THE TEACHER AWARD

Miss Beatrice Teter is shown as she received the Hauberg Award as the teacher who had done most for the Junior Historian program during the year. With her are, left to right, Superintendent James B. Johnson of the Alton schools; Walter E. McBride, president of the Rotary Club of Rock Island, sponsor of the award; and Governor Stratton.

cussion on which of Abraham Lincoln's sons would have been a Junior Historian had there been such a program in the 1860's.

The complete list of 1956 award winners follows:

Alton: Jane Johnson and Dennis Milford, East Junior High School; Judy Foeller, North Junior High School; Joan Carroll, West Junior High School.

Aurora: David McCay, West Junior High School.

Bloomington: John R. Noel, Washington Junior High School.

Canton: Gary Roudebush, Canton Junior High School.

Chicago: Steven Reiner, William Severns, Michael Shirk, Allan Swartzberg and Edgar Thayer, Harvard School for Boys.

Chillicothe: Mark Crouch, Pearce Grade School.

Dixon: Bruce Kingsley and Paula Rowe, Washington School.

Elgin: Charles Hesse, Abbott Junior High School.

Highland Park: Bill Koretz, Elm Place School.

Joliet: Judith Watkins, Joliet Township High School.

La Salle: James Krolak, Lincoln School.

Moline: Ann Starkey, Calvin Coolidge Junior High School.

New Lenox: Yvonne Piepenbrink and Terry Schroeder, Lincoln-Way Community High School.

Orion: Linda Anderson, C. R. Hanna School.

Princeton: Joan Gunning and Ted Loberg, Logan Junior High School.

Rock Island: David Lindgren and Joe Reading, Franklin Junior High School; Larry Keim, Georgia Thomas and Joan Zeffren, Washington Junior High School.

Rockford: Diane Clark and Linda Sandwick, Washington Junior High School.

Springfield: Jo Ann Janowiak, Ursuline Academy.

Sterling: Georgia Behrens, Sterling Junior High School.

Vandalia: Mary Stombaugh, Central Junior High School.

Waukegan: Jane Elliott and Dicky Phillips, Andrew Cooke School.

The *Journal* is pleased to publish the *Junior Historian* article which won the first John H. Hauberg Memorial Award. It appeared in the December, 1955 issue, and author Severns also had two other articles published in the *Junior Historian* this year: "Lincoln's Boys" (February) and "Perry Springs—A Forgotten Spa" (May):

GRANT'S CAMP—NOW A FIELD OF WHEAT

BY WILLIAM SEVERNS

We were spending our usual Fourth of July holiday at the farm in Pike County, Illinois. We sat at the side of the Perry and Naples Road watching the men cut the golden wheat in a field across from us. The land rolled gently up toward the wooded bluff. As I watched the combine cut

a steady swath through the swaying grain, I could almost see the rows of tents housing the soldiers of the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers as they camped on this very field in July, 1861, led by Colonel Ulysses S. Grant on their first march.

Grant, an old West Point graduate and veteran of the Mexican War, had offered his services to the army in Washington at the beginning of the conflict between the states. For some unknown reason he had been overlooked, so when Governor Richard Yates of Illinois needed a man to lead the 21st, he appointed Grant as colonel of the regiment.

The men in the 21st were volunteers from various parts of the state, gathered at Springfield to be trained. It was a tremendous task to turn this group into a well disciplined army, but Grant was just the man to do the job. Within a few weeks after he took command at Camp Yates, near Springfield, he had the regiment ready for battle.

On July 3, 1861, Colonel Grant was ordered to leave Springfield for Quincy with his troops. The Great Western Railroad, now the Wabash, was a direct line between the two cities, but instead of taking the men by train, Grant set out on foot, to give them the experience they would need so soon. Wagons were hired to carry the equipment, and the regiment started on its way. The first night was spent near the town of Curran, about eight miles west of Springfield. On the Fourth of July the soldiers came to a place known as Island Grove (now Berlin) in time for the noon meal. There was a large celebration in honor of the Fourth and the people of the countryside invited the men to eat with them. The tables were loaded with the usual fine picnic fare, but Colonel Grant forbade his men the pleasure. He was afraid it would disrupt discipline and that he would have a good many men ill the next day from overeating. They camped about nine miles east of Jacksonville that night.

The regiment stopped the next day at Camp Duncan, the old fairgrounds in Jacksonville, for the noon meal, and proceeded southwestward on the Naples road about seven miles to camp that night. They reached Naples on the sixth and set up their tents just north of the town. Naples was an important point, for it was there they could take the ferry across the Illinois River. The next day being Sunday, the men were allowed to rest, and arrangements were made to cross the river on the following day. The troops were ferried over the river on July 8 and landed in Pike County. Grant marched his men along the Perry and Naples Road and made camp about four and a half miles from Naples, near the old covered bridge crossing McGee Creek (often called McKee Creek). About half a mile from this spot Grant set up headquarters in an eight-sided house known as the Gardner house. My father remembers it thirty years ago being used as a barn, but now all that

remains is the octagonal foundation. The covered bridge is also gone, and the creek has been diverted to make way for a levee and drainage district. However, the old creek bed is still apparent.

While in camp at this point, a message came to Grant directing him to proceed with his forces to Ironton, Missouri, instead of Quincy. He was to await a steamer which would carry them to St. Louis. The boat was grounded on a sand bar a few miles down the river, and while they were waiting for it to be freed the news arrived that another Illinois regiment had been attacked by the Rebels near Palmyra, Missouri, and needed help. The troops were ferried back across the river to Naples, where they took a special train to Quincy and from there went on to Palmyra.

Grant's oldest son, Frederick D. Grant, then a boy of eleven, had accompanied his father on the march and had been a "good soldier." Fearful of Mrs. Grant's anxiety for the boy's future safety, the Colonel put him aboard a steamer at Quincy which would land him at Dubuque where he could get a train for his home at Galena in the northwestern corner of Illinois.

This initial march made by Colonel Grant and the 21st Regiment is particularly interesting to me because the old Naples ferry landing in Pike County is a part of my father's farm and the site of the camp on the Perry and Naples Road is a beautiful field near our farm.

I watched the combines cutting the wheat in the same season of the year in which, ninety-four years before, Illinois soldiers had camped on this spot. This quiet field, which briefly shared in the training of men for battle in the Civil War, now produces grain to feed their great-grandchildren in a time of peace.

RECENTLY ACQUIRED COLLECTIONS

In addition to the Bailhache-Brayman Papers (see page 215) the Illinois State Historical Library has recently acquired a number of manuscript collections.

The Adjutant General of Illinois had in his custody thousands of pictures and manuscripts which years ago had been on exhibit in the Statehouse. A large part of this was the Logan Memorial Collection, donated to the State by Mrs. John A. Logan in 1908 and by her daughter Mary Logan Tucker in 1923. The records management survey conducted by the National Records Management Council located this collection in dead storage in the Centennial Building basement, and Mrs. Marion D. Pratt, acting State Historian, secured the consent of the Adjutant General for its transfer to the Historical Library where it would be available for use. The process of removal and classification is still going on.

Among the outstanding items in this collection are notebooks used by General Logan during his service in both Houses of Congress, including notes on the conduct of impeachment trials. Ten volumes of congratulatory letters received by Logan on his elections as United States senator (1879 and 1885), his handling of the General Fitz-John Porter case (1879-1884) and his nomination as vice-president (1884) contain reminiscences and other information which will be valuable to historians of the period. Thirty-one large volumes are filled with letters, telegrams and resolutions on the occasion of General Logan's death, with five more on the death of Major John A. Logan, Jr., in the Philippines in 1901.

Other unusual items in this collection include over 3,000 identified pictures, more than half of them of Illinois Civil War soldiers; two letters of antislavery editor Elijah P. Lovejoy; soldier newspapers of the Civil War, Spanish-American War and World War I; a set of eleven Civil War band books used in the 33d Indiana Volunteers; and a Testament which stopped a bullet at the battle of Belmont in 1861, temporarily saving the life of Lieutenant William Shipley, a ward and protégé of Senator Orville Hickman Browning. More detailed descriptions of items from this collection will appear in later issues of this *Journal*.

Several hundred letters and documents of Governor Ninian Edwards and his son Ninian W. Edwards have been acquired from Mrs. Mary Edwards Brown, the latter's granddaughter and a grandniece of Mary Lincoln. These include a number of business letters from Mrs. Lincoln's father Robert S. Todd.

Two hundred fifty letters from and to Senator Lyman Trumbull have been added to the Trumbull correspondence in the Library. Many of these are applications for positions under the Lincoln administration; a number recommending the sons of William M. Beck, late editor of the *Olney Times*, stated that Beck had been the first editor to come out in his paper for Lincoln's nomination for the presidency. (The Historical Library has twenty-two reels of microfilm of the Trumbull Papers in the Library of Congress.)

Another collection consists of several hundred letters of Justice Samuel D. Lockwood (1789-1874) of the Illinois Supreme Court, his wife (an aunt of Mrs. John T. Stuart) and their relatives.

Nearly two hundred letters have been added to the Library's collection of the papers of Ozias M. Hatch, Illinois secretary of state (1857-1865), including a number of his correspondents' estimates of Lincoln in 1859 and two letters which Hatch wrote aboard the Lincoln funeral train in 1865.

POETRY AWARD TO MAC LEISH

The third annual Boston Arts Festival Poetry Award, previously won by Robert Frost and Carl Sandburg, was presented to Illinoisan Archibald MacLeish during the fifth annual festival, June 9-24. The award of \$500, sponsored by Houghton Mifflin and Company, is granted yearly to a contemporary American poet in recognition of "continuous meritorious contribution to the art of poetry" or for "a recent distinguished work." The recipient is required to read "a new work on the occasion of the Festival."

HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIFE MEMBERS

The Illinois State Historical Society now has ninety-eight life members. We are happy to list those who have become life members since the Summer 1953 issue of this *Journal*. The life membership fee is \$50.

Ainsworth, Charles	Moline	Korn, Bertram W.	Wyncote, Pa.
Baily, Mrs. Ruth Ingersoll.		Lampert, Mrs. Philip C.	Belvidere
.	San Diego, Calif.	Lawrence, Wasson W.	Fairfield
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SENIOR VICE-PRESIDENT DIES

Harold G. Baker, 57, of Belleville, senior vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, died suddenly of a heart attack on June 16. After service as a lieutenant in World War I and graduation from the University of Illinois, Mr. Baker served as United States district attorney from 1926 to 1931. One of the youngest federal prosecutors in the country, he and his staff made an outstanding record. He was a member of the law firm of Baker, Kagy & Wagner of East St. Louis. He was a Republican political leader in St. Clair County, and secretary of the Illinois Public Aid Commission at the time of his death.

Mr. Baker was active in the work of the Illinois State Historical Society, particularly in the preparations for the Golden Anniversary meeting in 1949. He served as director from 1952 to 1955.

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(For further information see inside of back cover)

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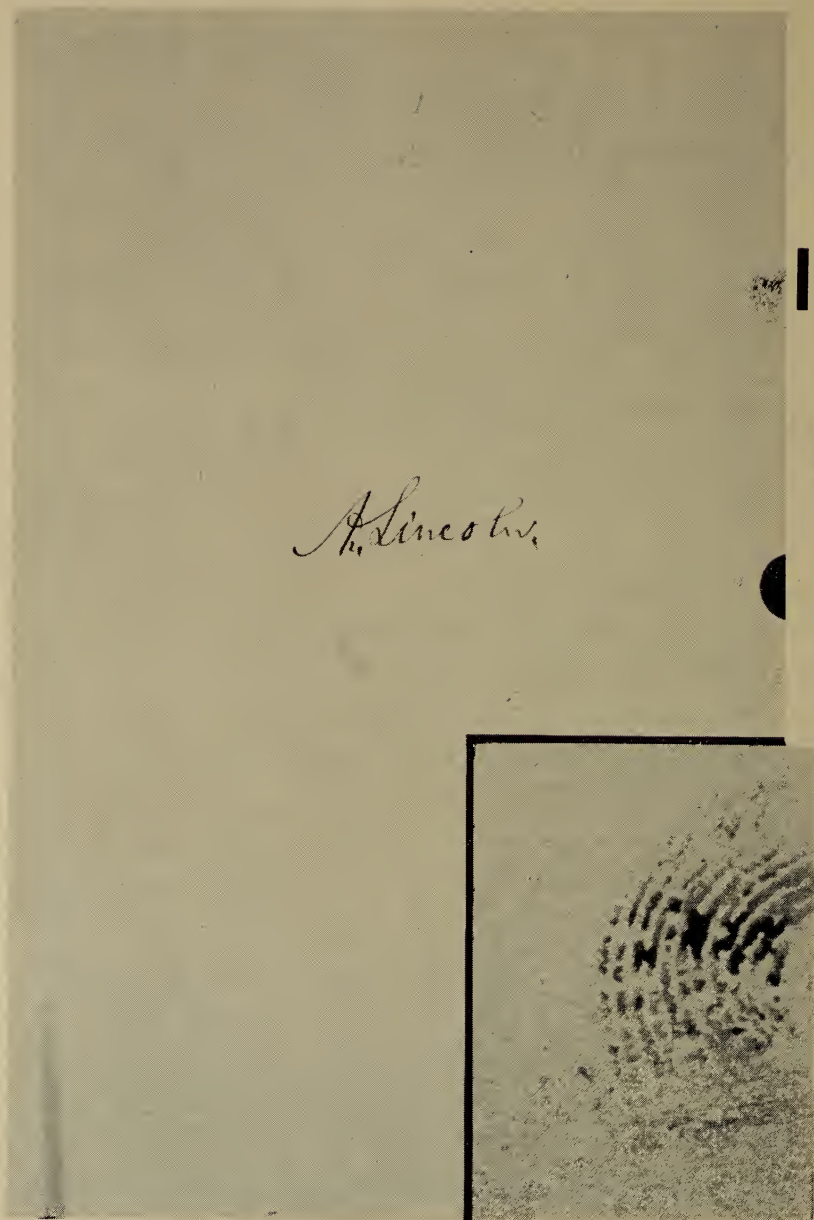
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LINCOLN'S FINGERPRINT AT UPPER RIGHT

This photograph is only slightly smaller than the original slip of paper Lincoln signed. The enlargement inset at the lower right is about eight times the size of the print.

DISCOVERED—AN AUTHENTIC LINCOLN FINGERPRINT

BY HOMER CROY

A BRAHAM LINCOLN'S life has been studied for more than eighty years by thousands of historians, all as eager to find something new as a uranium hunter is to see a Geiger needle jump. The lucky dog is a man in Springfield, Illinois—William A. Steiger—and his discovery is an authentic fingerprint of Abraham Lincoln's.¹

A word as to the importance of the find: to the average man on the street, it means nothing. To Lincoln scholars it's like finding the solar boat at the Great Pyramid.

It came about this way: during the busy war year of 1864, President Lincoln was especially put to it; he needed an under-secretary, or, more correctly speaking, John Hay needed one. He was combed out of the Department of the Interior, by name Gustave E. Matile (pronounced Mateel), twenty-five years old. His record was "studied," as the word then was

¹ For an earlier article on Lincoln's fingerprints see Jay Monaghan, "Who Made the Fingerprints?" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XLII (June, 1949), 209-212.

*Homer Croy, popular writer of both fiction and fact, makes research visits from time to time at the Illinois State Historical Library. While working here on material for *Wheels West* (1955) he met William A. Steiger and heard the story of the Lincoln fingerprint. Among his other books are *Corn Country* (1947), *What Grandpa Laughed At* (1948), *Jesse James Was My Neighbor* (1949), *He Hanged Them High* (1952) and *Our Will Rogers* (1953).*

for screened, and young Matile was moved over to help Hay who was on the run from morning till night. Matile's duties brought him, from time to time, to President Lincoln's chambers. In a way, he became secretary to President Lincoln—a startling bit of information for Lincoln fans, for until now, Matile's name has never appeared as secretary to Lincoln.² And there, for the moment, we will leave young Matile, bell-hopping for John Hay.

The story now moves to Syracuse, New York, where there was a man named Samuel Newell Holmes who was quite a character. He wrote political songs, sold real estate and, when he had time, practiced law. But his hobby was what passed him through the front door of history—collecting autographs. This scourge, it would seem, was just getting started; no one dreamed then that the day would come when autographs would be as important in the collecting field as postage stamps are to philatelists. But the forward march of history can not be stayed, collectors or no collectors.

Holmes had met Matile and was on a friendly basis with the new secretary. An idea entered Holmes' head—he would write his friend and ask him to procure President Lincoln's autograph. Into the mail, August 28, 1864, went the letter.

Matile must have been a bit puzzled about what to do; he wanted to oblige his friend, but President Lincoln was pressed for minutes. Matile seems to have thought it over for a day or two, then asked Lincoln if he would give the autograph. Lincoln, always so kindly to pests, may have said something like this (there is no record): "All right. I'll fix up an autograph for your Syracuse friend. I only wish there were more who request so little."

As was his custom, Lincoln picked up a stray piece of paper from his desk and wrote on it his famous "A. Lincoln" and passed the slip to Matile.

² John Hay in a note to John G. Nicolay, Oct. 10, 1864, says, "We are very busy. Mr. Matile is sick." Tyler Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War, in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1939), 225.

That would have been the end of the matter if Lincoln, in picking up the paper, hadn't blotted the ink with his right thumb. Come in, history.

It will be recalled that at this time the fountain pen was unknown and the ball-point pen hadn't yet been inflicted on the human race. But ink is ink and its blotting power almost beyond human control. And so Lincoln left a healthy blot.

Matile must have been a bit disconcerted. Should he ask the President to write another? No, this he could not do, for it might be taken as a reflection upon the President's untidiness. He wrote a short letter to his friend Holmes, then turning the left side of the paper to the top he very diplomatically wrote on the margin: "The finger marks *are also his*. They will do as the olden times seals that were made by impressing the thumb on the wax." He underscored the words shown in italics here. He put the letter into the mail, never realizing this seemingly trifling matter would be the only thing that he would be remembered for. And thus we see the offhand way history makes its bed.

There is no record of how song writer Holmes received the autograph—was he disappointed because of the smear? Anyway he kept it in his collection until he died. His daughter held it a few years, then sold the thumb-smeared letter, herself not realizing its great value.

And now the story moves to William A. Steiger, 1517 Carolina Avenue, Springfield, a nut on Lincoln. This, in Springfield, is not a distinguishing trait, for everybody in Springfield is a collector of Lincoln material. Steiger liked autographs, too, as did Holmes. He heard of the authenticated fingerprint-autograph and his heart leaped, for he, an old collector, knew this distinguished it from all other Lincoln autographs. In no time at all he was its owner.

To show how the mind of a Lincoln-collector works, these are the words of one of that strange tribe: "I consider this the greatest Lincoln find in recent years. I would rather have

this item in my collection than the Gettysburg Address, for there are five copies of Gettysburg, but there is only one authentic fingerprint of Lincoln's." Lincoln collectors, when they are on their subject are ecstatic; no weasel words for them.

The late Dr. Harry E. Pratt, then Illinois State Historian, said: "I am inclined to believe Matile's statement that the fingerprint is Lincoln's. Also, I am greatly interested to learn more about Matile's connections with the White House."

It may seem from the foregoing that this is the only fingerprint of Lincoln's. This is true, so far as proof goes. But there are finger smudges and blots on some of the 18,000 documents in the Lincoln Papers; but, whose are they? Sometimes it might seem that the President had been writing with a post office pen. Here is the history of one fingerprint-smudge:

One day in 1936, Walter R. Benjamin, an autograph dealer in New York, received a packet of ADS's from the late James Meegan, a Washington book dealer, who occasionally handled autographs. In dealer lingo, ADS means Autograph Document Signed—the nest egg of all autograph dealers. When Mr. Benjamin opened the package his eyes grew as big as nest eggs themselves, for there were sixty-eight Lincoln items. Lincoln items are not too hard to come by, but sixty-eight in one nest! That was something, indeed. The price—\$300. Naught at all, really. Mr. Benjamin sent a check by the next mail. Most of the items were one or two lines. President Lincoln read his own mail. Mostly these requests were from people wanting jobs, or from mothers wanting their sons pardoned for having done this or that—enough to drive a person crazy. Instead of turning these requests over to a trained staff who could write sympathetic letters, Lincoln conscientiously answered them himself. His method was simple; it would hardly work today where the Boss's time must be preserved for more important matters. It was to turn the letter over, or at the bottom, write his decision and then shove

Washington Sept 10. 1864.

S. N. Holmes Esq

Dear Sir

I have duly received
yours of Aug 28.

I now send you
the autograph of the
President & will send
you the ~~and~~ others
as soon as I have
the leisure to run
to the different Depts

In haste yours.

G. E. Matile.

MATILE'S NOTE OF AUTHENTICATION

The practice of writing both ways across a sheet of paper was common in those days but not all letters were as legible as this one.

the whole thing into the office mail. No carbon. No record. The only thing in its favor was that it worked.

Ghouls came along and snipped his signature from these documents; if the documents had been left intact, the price would now be much higher. Today dealers would go after each other with broadswords to get such ADS's.

Mr. Benjamin has since passed away, his daughter, Miss Mary A. Benjamin, carries on. In 1948, she had a request for an ADS of Lincoln. She went through the few remaining of the sixty-eight, selected one to send on approval when a blot on the upper left hand side attracted her attention. The ADS read, "Let this man be discharged. A. Lincoln. Feb. 17, 1865"—barely two months before he fell. She examined it and then called to her assistant Miss Ahern and asked her to examine it. "What do you make of it?" Miss Benjamin asked. "Why it's a fingerprint," came the reply. Then simultaneously: "Lincoln's?" "We became properly excited, and still are," said Miss Benjamin. Was this Lincoln's fingerprint? If so, it was unique. But as to this there could be only speculation; there was nothing to establish it as having been made by Lincoln. But it was a big moment in the dealer's life. However, since proof could not be established it was laid aside and later sold to the Illinois State Historical Library.

In an attempt to authenticate this smudge-ADS, a copy of it was sent to the FBI, but they had not been able to identify it, for there was no known thumb print of Lincoln's for comparison. So that trail disappeared in the grass.

The Library of Congress was queried. No soap. No smudge. In fact there is not a known organization that has a fingerprint that can, open or shut, be said to be Lincoln's.

The great difference between others and that in Mr. Steiger's collection is obvious; Steiger's is authenticated by Gustave E. Matile, the man who slipped in the back door of history by way of President Lincoln's autograph. Probably the earliest known of our Presidents' fingerprints.



A. Lincoln, & Son.

Photo by Lefebvre-Luebke, Green Bay, Wis.

THE PICTURE LINCOLN SIGNED FOR MATILE

This photograph of the President with his son Tad was taken in Washington on February 9, 1864 by Mathew B. Brady.

Now a word as to Matile's later days. They were not prosperous, but withal he was extremely proud. They ended in Green Bay, Wisconsin, where he was known as a "character." Once he was asked to speak before the bar (he was an attorney). A local man got up to introduce him. The local man launched himself upon a flowery oration. Suddenly Matile got up and said, "That's about all we want of that. I'll start my talk right now." He was cheered to the echo.

He was shy and extremely sensitive about drawing attention to himself. He smoked stogies, the only lawyer in town who puffed so humbly. One day he was walking down the street with John W. Reynolds, a Green Bay lawyer, when Matile stopped and looked into a pool hall where cigars were sold. He looked yearningly for a minute, then turned to lawyer Reynolds, who tells the story, and said, "John, I wish you'd take this half dollar, go in and buy me some stogies. I don't want to go in there and let those pool hall people see me buying cheap cigars."

Matile never talked about himself. Some in Green Bay knew that he worked in Washington. He spent much time in the Kellogg Public Library and before he died, presented to the Library, a cabinet sized autographed picture of President Lincoln and "Tad," his son. There are only half a dozen or so known copies of pictures autographed by Mr. Lincoln. They are valued at about \$600 each. The card on the picture says it was given to Mr. Matile by Lincoln when he, Matile, was under-secretary to John Hay, Lincoln's secretary. He was called "Judge" Matile, because of the fact that he was a U. S. Court Commissioner. The Oneida Indian Reservation was just outside town, and matters dealing with the reservation were handled by the commissioners. It was customary, in Green Bay, to call a commissioner Judge. Gustave E. Matile died June 17, 1908, in Green Bay, and is buried in Woodlawn Cemetery—this man who gave us the only authentic fingerprint of Abraham Lincoln.

THE THREE LIVES OF FRANK H. HALL

BY WALTER B. HENDRICKSON

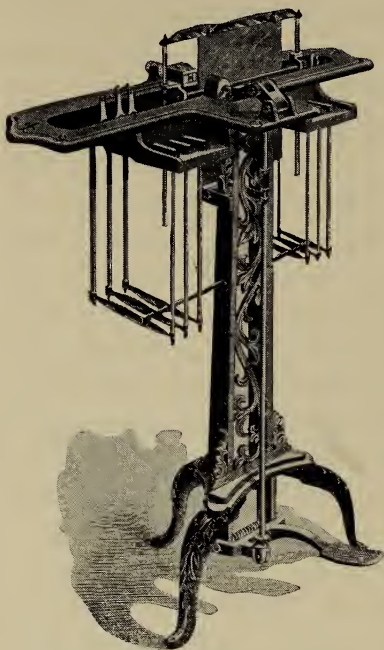
IT WAS clear and cold and quiet on the morning of January 5, 1893, when a man of medium height and vigorous physique, bright-eyed and bespectacled, his face adorned with a fashionable but ragged soup-strainer moustache and a small goatee, jumped lightly from the Chicago and Alton train that pulled into Jacksonville, Illinois from Chicago, and hurried forward to supervise the unloading of a large wooden box onto a wagon. He climbed up beside the driver and the horses hauled the rattling vehicle a couple of hundred yards eastward across the railroad tracks, and pulled up in the rear of the main building of the Illinois Institution for the Education of the Blind. The box was unpacked and the contents set up in the office of the man, who now had his greatcoat off and appeared in a high stiff collar, black tie and black frock coat. This man was Frank Haven Hall, Superintendent of the Institution.¹

Out of the box came a device, the like of which the world

¹This incident is a reconstruction based on an article by John B. Curtis, "Frank H. Hall," in *Outlook for the Blind*, Vol. III (1911), 5. This story was also told as a tradition of the School for the Blind by Louis W. Rodenberg in an interview, Mar. 3, 1955. The date is fixed by a statement in Frank H. Hall, "The Story of an Invention," in *The Mentor*, Vol. III (1893), 72. (*The Mentor* was a magazine published by the alumni of the Perkins Institution from 1891 to 1894.) An article in the *Jacksonville Journal*, Jan. 6, 1893, says that Hall had returned from Chicago with the machine the day before. An advertisement of the Chicago and Alton Railroad in the same newspaper establishes the fact that there was a train in from Chicago about midnight.

Walter B. Hendrickson is a professor of history at MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois, and previously has written several articles for this Journal. His current contribution was developed from a talk delivered at the 1955 Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society in Jacksonville, and from articles he has had published in the *Illinois Braille Messenger* (July, 1955) and *New Outlook for the Blind* (October, 1955).

had never seen before. It was a typewriter-like machine about a foot square resting on a strong cast iron table, and attached to it in a vertical position at the place where the paper would



HALL'S STEREOTYPEMAKER

This was the educator's first machine for simplifying Braille printing.

revolutionized the printing of books and other materials for the blind. Frank Hall, whose brain-child this machine was, put a plate in the carriage and tapped out the four lines of the first verse of the hymn, "Blest be the tie that binds."²

This man who could not wait until morning to put his invention to work was, in 1893, living his second life. His first had been as school teacher and superintendent in Aurora,

² *Mentor*, Vol. III, p. 68; Hall says "four lines of a familiar hymn," but Mrs. Bess Bower Dunn, who was a pupil of Hall's in the Waukegan schools, 1893-1897, and knew Hall and his children, says that "Blest Be the Tie That Binds," was sung every morning at the School for the Blind.

be inserted back of the platen was a metal frame about fifteen inches square. There were only six keys, shaped much like those on a piano, and between each three keys was an oval spacing key. Extending downward from the iron table was a single foot pedal. By pressing the keys, and then stepping on the foot pedal, the dots of Braille letters were impressed on a thin brass sheet held in the upright frame. The resulting embossed plate was put in a hand press, a dampened piece of paper placed over the plate, pressure was applied, and the Braille characters were transferred to the paper. Thousands of copies could be made—no muss, no fuss, no type, no hot lead. This stereotypemaker revo-

Illinois, and other places, and his third life would be as promoter of better agricultural education, when he became superintendent of the Illinois Farmers' Institute in 1902.

Hall had become superintendent of the Illinois Institution for the Education of the Blind in 1890 after a twenty-five year career as teacher, principal and superintendent of both public and private schools in Illinois. He was born in the town of Mechanics Falls, Maine, February 9, 1843,³ and served in the Union Army in 1862-1863 as a hospital steward in the Twenty-Third Maine Volunteers—a "nine months" regiment. After he was mustered out he spent a short time at Bates College, and in 1864 began to teach.

In 1866 he came to Earlville, Illinois as superintendent of schools. In a couple of years he moved to the larger town of Aurora, where he won the job over thirty-four other applicants. Hall was highly successful at Aurora, and stayed seven years. He was an inspiring teacher and popular with his students; and he had the full support of the trustees because he was an economical administrator. While he firmly replaced older pedagogical techniques, like learning by rote, with newer ones that emphasized the application of abstract knowledge to concrete situations,⁴ yet he also believed wholeheartedly in the idea that schools should prepare children to assume adult responsibilities, including the business of making a living. He was, therefore, a strong advocate of vocational education.⁵

After all, suave and even-tempered though Hall was, still he had to please students, trustees, and parents of all shades of conviction and prejudice about educational matters, and in

³ For these and other biographical facts see *The Lyre*, Vol. II (Feb., 1911), 5. This little magazine was edited and published by Harry R. Detweiler, Hall's son-in-law. Further information is in *Frank H. Hall*, a memorial brochure. While no author, publisher or place is indicated in the brochure, it was written and edited by Hall's daughter, Sybil Verne Hall Detweiler in Aurora in 1911, the year of Hall's death. See Dorothy Detweiler West to Walter B. Hendrickson, Aurora, Ill., Mar. 13, 1955. This letter is in the latter's possession.

⁴ Hall was the editor, really the author, because of his drastic revision of the widely used Werner arithmetic books, in which this principle was used. During his lifetime, Hall wrote or edited 18 school books. *The Lyre*, Vol. II (Feb., 1911), 5.

⁵ *Frank H. Hall*, a brochure, 20; Bess Bower Dunn to Walter B. Hendrickson, June 21, 1955.

1875 he welcomed the offer of a group of farmers near Aurora to head a work-and-learn school, Sugar Grove Industrial School. Here Hall was free to try out his idea that education was all of a piece, and Sugar Grove School was to teach "life-lessons."⁶ As Hall himself wrote:

We learned to use the milk tester and we read Shakespeare. We investigated the subject of cattle raising and studied Virgil. We learned how to raise hogs and reveled in the beauties of Homer. We studied the subject of grasses and hay and mastered cube root.⁷

Here at Sugar Grove, Hall worked out many of the techniques for teaching agriculture that he later used in the farmers' institutes. Here, too, he renewed the acquaintance with machinery that he had acquired when as a boy he worked in Maine factories. Also, while he was at Aurora and Sugar Grove, he began to speak at teachers' institutes, an activity which he continued throughout his life. Although Hall was not at all mercenary, yet the extra income from such speaking engagements, plus the ownership of a dairy farm and a creamery, gave him economic security. During the twelve years at Sugar Grove, in addition to his teaching, Hall ran his creamery, a general store, and a lumberyard, and took a leading part in community affairs, serving as postmaster and township trustee.⁸

But then he returned to public school work, becoming superintendent of the Petersburg, Menard County, schools for a short time, and then going back to Aurora for a year. Finally in 1890, he was appointed superintendent of the Illinois Institution for the Education of the Blind at Jacksonville on the recommendation of N. W. Branson, a trustee of the school.⁹

Hall now started to live his second life. He knew little about the special methods of teaching the blind, but he was convinced that blind children, like normal children, should

⁶ *Frank H. Hall*, a brochure, 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 23, 45-46.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

become self-supporting adults. To prepare himself for his new career, he made a quick trip east to visit the schools at Boston, New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia, and the Printing House for the Blind at Louisville.¹⁰ At the latter place he became familiar with type and presses and printing methods.

All through his first year in Jacksonville, Hall observed what went on in the school, talked to teachers and pupils, and read and studied about the problems of teaching the blind. Two major ideas on the subject had prevailed at the school. The first was that the blind child should be kept busy with handwork and the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, not so much for learning's sake, but rather to keep the child occupied so that he would not lead a life of "monotony, uselessness and weariness."¹¹ Such handicrafts as broom-making were taught, and this did enable some men to be partially self-supporting, but generally such activities were carried out in special workshops maintained by the state.

Along in the 1870's, under Superintendent F. W. Phillips, more attention was paid to "literary" subjects, since books in raised print were available, and the children were graded in classes approximating those of the public schools. Further, to make students more self-reliant military drill and gymnastics were introduced.¹²

In a sense, Hall combined these two methods and introduced a third element. He believed that the blind should be so trained that they could work in the world of normal-sighted people. This meant first, that the academic work should be brought up to the level of schools for the sighted

¹⁰ No author [Frank H. Hall?], *Brief History of the Illinois Institution for the Education of the Blind*, Illinois Board of World's Fair Commissioners (Chicago, 1893), 39. This rare pamphlet was kindly loaned to the author by George W. Gerlach, formerly a teacher at the School for the Blind, now retired. He was a student at the Jacksonville school when he knew Hall.

¹¹ Helen M. Sweeney, "Changes in the Philosophy of Education at the Illinois School for the Blind" (Ms.), 6. Miss Sweeney kindly permitted the author to use this informative paper. The quotation is from Superintendent Joshua Rhoads' (1850-1874) report of 1853.

¹² *Ibid.*, 9, 11.

child, and, second, that many more opportunities to learn trades and skills should be given to the blind child.¹³ To fulfill the latter program, typing, bookkeeping, dressmaking, woodworking and other handicrafts were introduced, but Hall's great work was in realizing his first aim, and he saw that if the blind person was to have an equal chance with the sighted person, he should have the same kind of formal education.

The pressing need here was teaching materials that would give the blind child an awareness of the world around him through the senses of touch and hearing, and at his recommendation, the state legislature appropriated \$3,000, a part of which was spent for a collection of natural history specimens and "such manufactured articles as could be gotten and profitably handled by blind pupils."¹⁴

Another part of the appropriation was spent for presses and type so that more reading material could be put in the hands of the pupils.¹⁵ Hall's interest in writing and printing became an all-absorbing one for several years, because he saw that the store of written knowledge should be opened to the blind, and he worked at the subject until he had developed a machine, the stereotypemaker, the first appearance of which was described at the beginning of this article.

Back of Hall's revolutionary invention is a long and intensely dramatic story of writing and printing for the blind that had its beginning, in modern times, with the work of Valentin Haüy, the Hungarian living in France in the last half of the eighteenth century, who first conceived the idea that the blind could read by feeling embossed letters with their fingers. Haüy and many of his successors used conventional

¹³ Frank H. Hall, "The Education of the Blind," in Trustees of the Illinois Institution for the Education of the Blind, *Twenty-fifth Biennial Report*, (1898), 9; *Frank H. Hall*, a brochure, 22, 23.

¹⁴ Trustees of the Illinois Institution, *Twenty-second Biennial Report* (1892), 11; Sweeney, 13.

¹⁵ "Report of Arthur Jewell, Printer," in Trustees of the Illinois Institution, *Thirtieth Biennial Report*, (1908), 15-16.

type forms, but the results were not entirely satisfactory. Other educators invented special types, like the Moon alphabet with its large-sized angular characters, and Boston Line, a simplification of Roman type.¹⁶

Some educators abandoned type used by the sighted, and adopted punctiform letters. The founder of the dot system was, of course, Louis Braille. In England and in the United States, variations of Braille's original notation were produced; in England the trend was toward the use of abbreviations and contractions, while in the United States, the words were spelled out in full. In the United States, too, a second system of dot notation was New York Point, thought by some to be superior to Braille.¹⁷

All of the above systems had warm advocates in the United States, but by the 1890's, educators had come to prefer either Braille or New York Point over Moon, Boston Line Letter, or any other variation of conventional type. Experience had shown that it was much easier for a blind person to distinguish with his fingers between various arrangements of dots, than it was to note the difference between letters made up of comparatively solid lines. In large part, however, it was Hall's stereotypemaker and his earlier invention, the Braille Writer, that determined that Braille would be standard in the United States, and finally throughout the world.

The stereotypemaker was full brother of the Hall Braille Writer, a machine with which a blind person could write on paper, much as a seeing person uses a typewriter. Both the writer and stereotypemaker were developed by Hall in his

¹⁶ There is a very large literature on writing for the blind which may be conveniently located in Helga Lende, *Books About the Blind: A Bibliographical Guide to Literature Relating to the Blind* (New York, 1953). A clear and accurate account, written for the layman, is Isabel Ross, *Journey into Light: The Story of the Education of the Blind* (New York, 1951). More professional is Paul A. Zahl, ed., *Blindness: Modern Approaches to the Unseen Environment* (Princeton, 1950), especially the chapter, "Avenues of Communication," 313-34, by Gabriel Farrell. Brief but authoritative is Louis W. Rodenberg, *The Story of Books for the Blind* (New York, 1952).

¹⁷ In addition to sources noted above, see Mary A. Cadwalader Jones, "The Education of the Blind," in *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. XII (Sept., 1892), 373-87, for a friendly account of New York Point.

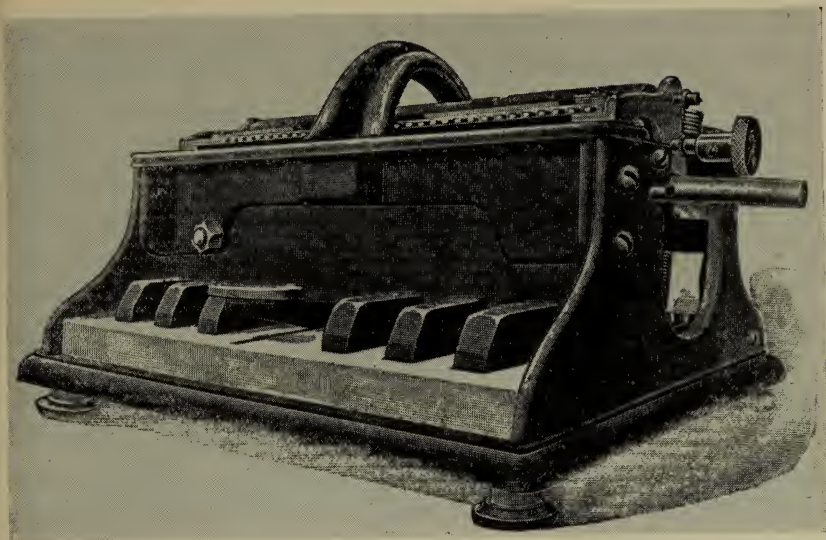
first years at the school. The usual method of instruction was for the teacher to dictate to the student, who took down the information by impressing the dots of New York Point on paper with the writing device then used: the slate or metal frame to guide a stylus or punch held in the hand.¹⁸ Hall's first move was to buy two small hand presses and fonts of Boston Line, New York Point, and Braille type. With this equipment, students were given lesson sheets and other material from which they could study.

But not every student could learn to read Boston Line, and note-taking and the preparation of written assignments were slow with slate and stylus. The New York Point notation had been adopted as official in 1888 because it was used in all other United States schools except the Perkins Institution in Boston and the Missouri school in St. Louis. But, in the Illinois school, since 1876, Braille had been used by teachers and students, and even after 1888, Braille continued to be favored by many, and it was used in private correspondence. Students found Braille easier to use because all the letters were written within a "cell" three dots high and two dots wide. There was thus a uniformity and simplicity about Braille that New York Point did not really possess, although it appeared to. New York Point letters were only two dots high, and letters varied from one to four dots in length, and so could be written somewhat more rapidly. The number of dots in the letters was based on frequency of use, with "e" being a single dot, so it was theoretically also easier and faster to read. But the regularity and uniformity of the Braille cell made it favored by many blind people who knew both Braille and New York Point.¹⁹

As Hall considered the problem, he first contemplated

¹⁸ See "Report of Arthur Jewell, Printer," Trustees of the Illinois Institution, *Thirtieth Biennial Report* (1908), 15-16.

¹⁹ For the "Battle of the Types" see the account of the hearings before the committee of the New York Board of Education in 1909: "Which Tactile Print for New York City?" in *Outlook for the Blind*, Vol. III (1909), 24-46, 64-74.



FRANK HALL'S BRAILLE WRITER

a machine that would write New York Point, but as he discussed the matter with his students and teachers, he began to see that it would be much simpler to make a machine to write Braille, since every letter would be of uniform width.²⁰ Further, as Hall wrote,

It was obvious at the outset that such a machine must be quite simple and easy to manufacture, thereby placing the cost within the limited means of the poorest of the class it was designed to benefit. Next, it must have power sufficient to emboss the points of the Braille system in perfectly sharp relief, and yet the touch must be easy, giving the greatest rapidity without fatiguing the operator.²¹

It was at this point that Hall sought technical assistance and called on Gustav ("Gus") A. Sieber. Gus Sieber, born in 1863, was the son of a German emigrant who had opened a gunshop in Jacksonville. Young Gus had early learned the gunmaker's art in his father's shop, and he had become

²⁰ Hall's testimony before the New York City Board of Education committee in *ibid.*, 44.

²¹ Hall, "Story of an Invention," 68.

skilled in general metal work through three years' experience in Chicago shops and foundries.²² Hall went to see Sieber at the family gunshop and electrical supply store at 213 East Court Street, near the Public Square.²³ As Sieber tells the story, "Mr. Hall showed [me] what he called a slate and stylus to punch dots in paper and wanted a writer to do this work."²⁴ Hall explained about the Braille system of six dots and told Sieber that he wanted each dot controlled by a separate key, so that any Braille character could be made at a single stroke by pressing the right combination of keys.²⁵

With this information and Hall's explanation of the Braille cell of six dots, and with the typewriter used by sighted persons in mind, Sieber created a suitable device.²⁶ Six punches or styli were set in a fixed mounting, each operated by a single key, and the release of the keys after punching a letter, caused the carriage which contained the paper to move one space to the left ready for the next letter to be impressed. The Braille writer designed and built by Sieber was the great improvement over the stylus and slate that Hall wanted. In addition to making an entire letter with one motion, the operator could

²² Interview with Sieber, May 1, 1955. He was then ninety-two years old, still in good health and clear of mind, although very deaf. He retired only a few years earlier from active participation in his electrical contracting business.

²³ *Jacksonville City Directory*, 1891-1892.

²⁴ Written statement of G. A. Sieber, April 1, 1955, answering questions by the author.

²⁵ Conversation with Louis W. Rodenberg May 10, 1955, in which the latter said that Sieber had told him this several years earlier. Rodenberg's recollection is supported by a letter of G. A. Sieber to Robert B. Irwin, Executive Secretary of the American Foundation for the Blind, Jacksonville, June 11, 1932, in which Sieber says, "Hall showed me what they called a slate and stylus, showed me the work they did, and wanted a writer made on the order of a typewriter—having six keys and a spacer. He never gave me any idea as to how to make it, but what it should do." Both the rough draft of this letter, in Sieber's handwriting, and a carbon copy of the letter are in a small collection of letters and clippings in Sieber's possession. Since Sieber's statement to the author, noted above, was made when Sieber was ninety-two, and since there is no written documentation contemporary with the making of the model of the writer, it seems probable that Sieber may have failed to remember all the circumstances. Sieber, in his statement, claims credit for the idea of using the six keys, but this most certainly was Hall's idea.

²⁶ It would seem that Sieber's great contribution was the development, without infringing on existing typewriter patents, of an escapement whereby the carriage could move a space at a time. It would seem likely, too, that the linkage from key to styli would also have to be original for the same reason. These statements are based upon the conversation with Rodenberg, noted above, and upon an examination of the mechanism of a Hall writer.

read what he had written immediately, because the steel pins impressed the dots on the paper by striking from the back, and because the carriage moved to the next position immediately. With slate and stylus, the person using them had to write all characters in reverse, and remove the sheet of paper from the slate before it could be read.

The model built by Sieber was thus described by Hall:

[It] was built mainly of scrap iron and brass and was fastened to a rough pine board for a base. It was anything but elegant in appearance; but the dots made by it were fully equal to those made by the stylus, and although the working was heavy and the machine roughly constructed, the measure of our success was even greater than I expected.²⁷

The Braille Writer which bore his name was the happy result of Hall's creative mind, which analyzed the problem and envisioned a solution, and Sieber's highly developed craftsman's skill.

Hall, with his driving enthusiasm and urge to action wanted Sieber to undertake immediate mass production of the writer, but Sieber advised Hall to take the model to a machine shop in Chicago, where proper patterns and punches could be provided. As Hall said, "a fortunate chain of circumstances" led him to the Munson Typewriter Company in Chicago where T. B. Harrison was the superintendent and C. J. Seifried the designer. Harrison and Seifried fulfilled Hall's requirements that the Braille writer should be made as cheaply as possible, and Hall declared that their work was a labor of love.²⁸ They manufactured ninety-four machines which were delivered to the Illinois school for a total of \$940.²⁹ In addition Hall said that he paid out between \$200 and \$300 from his legislative appropriation for a working model,³⁰ which probably included the \$65 paid to Sieber for his work.³¹

²⁷ Hall, "Story of an Invention," *Mentor*, III: 69.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁹ "Itemized Statement of Expenses, 1893" in Trustees of the Illinois Institution, *Twenty-third Biennial Report* (1894), 45.

³⁰ "Which Tactile Print for New York City?" *Outlook for the Blind*, III: 70.

³¹ Statement of G. A. Sieber to Walter B. Hendrickson, April 1, 1955.

Twenty machines were retained by the Illinois school and the others were sold to individuals and schools, first for \$12 and later for \$14.³² Within a few years institutions for the blind in the United States and in many foreign countries, including China and Australia, were using Hall Braille Writers.³³

Hall was always proud of the fact that neither he nor any of the persons connected with the development of the writer profited from the invention. He never patented the machine,³⁴ and one of the favorite stories told by his family was about the time that he met Helen Keller, then thirteen, at the World's Fair and upon being told that Hall was responsible for the writer that she used so often, she put her arms around his neck and gave him a big kiss on his cheek. His daughter said that Hall could never tell of this incident without tears in his eyes.³⁵

The first machine made by Harrison and Seifried arrived in Jacksonville on May 27, 1892, and Hall gave a demonstration to a reporter from the *Jacksonville Journal*, who wrote a most enthusiastic report, a full column long,³⁶ and the public first saw the machine at an exhibition of the work of the Institution for the Education of the Blind on June 7, 1892, when five students competed against each other in a speed trial. The winner wrote eighty-five words a minute from memory, and thirty-one words a minute from dictation.³⁷ The good news about the Braille writer was passed on to other institutions for the blind when it was demonstrated at Brantford, Ontario, by Hall's daughter Nina, who achieved a remarkable speed of one hundred words a minute. Edward E. Allen, the superintendent of the Perkins Institution, said "we . . . who were

³² Edward E. Allen, "Frank H. Hall," in *Outlook for the Blind*, Vol. V (1911), 59.

³³ *Outlook for the Blind*, III: 70.

³⁴ A later model of the Hall Braille writer made by the Cooper Engineering and Manufacturing Co. bore the legend, "Patent Applied For," but it is certain that no patent was ever granted.

³⁵ *Frank H. Hall*, a brochure, 24.

³⁶ May 28, 1892.

³⁷ *Jacksonville Journal*, June 8, 1892.

there assembled in convention were almost dumbfounded with surprize and delight. The convenience of this little machine to the blind can only be understood when one realizes that it became to them what the ordinary typewriter is to others."³⁸ And as the *Jacksonville Journal* pointed out, with it the blind could solve algebraic and arithmetical problems and write music.³⁹

The principles of the Hall writer were followed in later machines. So far as can be determined, C. J. Seifried took over the manufacture of the writers from the Munson Type-writer Company, and at his death, the Cooper Manufacturing Company of Chicago continued their production until about 1921, when this company was bought out by the M. B. Skinner Company, manufacturers of steam specialties and engineer supplies. The Skinner company made writers under the name of the Cooper Manufacturing and Engineering Company. At first Skinner planned to discontinue the manufacture of the writers because it wasn't profitable, but when he found that this would work a hardship on blind people, he decided to stay in the business and produce an even better machine. He spent \$5,000 for improved designs and methods of manufacture, and still sold the machine for a nominal sum.⁴⁰ Eventually the production of Braille writers was taken over by such specialized agencies as the American Foundation for the Blind, the Howe Memorial Press, and the Braille Institute of America. Throughout all these changes, Hall's basic principles of six keys, each controlling a dot in the Braille cell, and impressing the paper from the back were retained. The principal change that has been made in the most modern machine, the Perkins Brailler, is that the carriage carries the styli rather than the paper.

Hall saw that his Braille writer might be made to pro-

³⁸ *Outlook for the Blind*, V: 91.

³⁹ May 28, 1892.

⁴⁰ P. D. Merrill, Vice-President, Cooper Engineering and Manufacturing Company, to G. A. Sieber, Chicago, Ill., June 14, 1926, in Sieber's possession.

duce, quickly and cheaply, a stereotype plate from which many copies could be printed. Stereotypes at this time were made by laborious and slow handwork, using a punch and mallet to impress dots on copper plates, following the method developed in Europe; or as was more usual in the United States, by handsetting Braille type, and either printing directly from it, or by making a stereotype from a paper mat.⁴¹

After several experiments using paper stiffened with shellac, and heavy tinfoil backed by cement, and finding them only moderately successful,⁴² Hall appealed to his friends Harrison and Seifried, and it was they who devised the machine which Hall was unpacking in the small hours of the morning of January 5, 1893. It used the same principles as the Braille writer, except that greater power was applied by using a foot pedal to do the embossing after the characters were selected by the keys.

The Hall stereotypemaker was first exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair where workers with the blind saw its great possibilities. Superintendent John T. Sibley of the Missouri School for the Blind, who secured the second stereotypewriter that was made, expressed the general feeling when he wrote:

After nearly a year's work with the stereotypewriter, I am led to believe that, as far as the education of the blind is concerned, this invention is the most important of the century, if we except the invention of the point system by Louis Braille. These two form the immovable pillars upon which the future education of the blind must rest. When the value of both is well understood by all, printing embossed matter will be carried on so rapidly and so economically that libraries will grow and flourish like vegetation under a tropical sun.⁴³

John Sibley's prophecy has come true. Today most books for the blind are printed from plates made on stereotypemakers following the principles of Hall's original machine, although

⁴¹ Louis W. Rodenberg, *The Story of Books for the Blind*, 10; Farrell, "Avenues of Communication," *Blindness: Modern Approaches* . . . , 327-36. See also *Jacksonville Journal*, Jan. 6, 1893, for an interview with Hall on the subject of the stereotypemaker.

⁴² Hall, "Story of an Invention," 72-73.

⁴³ John T. Sibley, "Stereotyping for Embossed Printing," in *The Mentor*, Vol. III (1893), 9, 386.

much improved and now motor driven. The fact that Hall's writer and stereotypemaker operated so efficiently were, as shall be shown, strong arguments for retaining Braille as the written language of the blind both in the United States and throughout the world.

Hall left the school for the blind in 1893 when the Democrats took control of the state government. For four years he was the superintendent of the Waukegan schools, where the board of trustees recognized his ability by paying him a larger salary than he asked for.⁴⁴ In 1897, with the return of the Republicans to power, Hall was reappointed head of the school for the blind, where he remained until 1902.

He was now widely known among educators, both the teachers of the blind and of normal children. His writer and stereotypemaker had won much favorable attention among his colleagues, and he took a leading part at the Congress of Educators of the Blind held at the Columbian Exposition.⁴⁵ He was a frequent attendant and speaker at conferences of teachers of both blind and normal-sighted children.

The gist of his talks on these occasions was, first, that the blind should be given as many experiences as possible to fit them to live in a world of sighted people, and, second, that teachers of normal children could learn much from studying the problems of teaching the blind. Hall said that the blind child, because of his limited ability to receive impressions, developed his imaginative powers and his capacity for drawing conclusions from his limited perceptions. Sighted children, he said, did not develop their powers of apperception because they depended so largely upon their much greater sensory perceptions. His conclusion was that teachers of blind children should give them as many sensory experiences as possible, and the teachers of sighted children should teach

⁴⁴ *Frank H. Hall*, a brochure, 27.

⁴⁵ *The Mentor*, Vol. III (1893), 39, 80, 160, 240, 280, 319-20, 360, 403-404; 68-73; 243-51; 385-89.

them to draw as much as possible from their sensory experiences.⁴⁶

During Hall's second term two deaf-blind children had come to the school—Jessie Stewart and Emma Kubicek—both having lost their sight and hearing as the result of cerebro-meningitis, the former at the age of ten months, and the latter at three years. Both were given the same kind of training that Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller had had, being put under the personal care of Mrs. Helen Jordan, the kindergarten teacher at the school. Hall was much interested in their cases because he had just completed a thoughtful study on the subject: "The Comparison of the Blind, the Deaf, the Deaf-Blind, and Those Possessed of All Their Faculties, in Respect to Imaginative Power." His conclusion that it was most difficult to educate the deaf-blind child was borne out by the cases of Jessie and Emma. Little could be done for Jessie, but Emma learned quite readily, and was called "the second Helen Keller." Hall explained the difference as being in large part due to the fact that Jessie lost her sensory powers at such an early age that she had no usable memory of anything seen or heard.⁴⁷

Hall's firm conviction that the blind should participate just as much as possible in the activities of the seeing brought him, in 1900, when the city of Chicago was considering the establishment of a boarding school for the blind, to convince the school authorities that it would be much better to have day classes in the public schools, rather than to isolate the blind children in an institution. On Hall's recommendation one of his teachers, John B. Curtis, was appointed to pioneer in setting up public day classes. Within ten years, five other cities

⁴⁶ See, for example, Frank H. Hall, "Pedagogical Lessons from a Study of the Blind," in National Educational Association, *Proceedings*, (1898), 1033-1038; Frank H. Hall, "Thoughts Suggested by a Study of the Mental Development of the Blind," in Illinois Society for Child Study, *Transactions*, Vol. I (1894), 31-39.

⁴⁷ Illinois Society for Child Study, *Transactions*, Vol. IV (1899), 18-30; Trustees of the Illinois Institution, *Twenty-seventh Biennial Report* (1902), 16-20. See also *Jacksonville Journal*, March 14, 1907, for an account of Emma Kubicek's life. The girl died in 1907 from diphtheria, aged eleven years.

had followed the Chicago plan. One of Hall's contemporaries, Edward E. Allen, said that Hall's leadership in this matter was even more significant for the education of the blind than the invention of the Braille-writing machines.⁴⁸

Hall believed geography should be an important part of the curriculum and he used several devices whereby the blind could comprehend the shape and location of geographical features. One such was a heavy paper cut-out of a country, a state, or a continent fastened to a board. On the cut-out, tacks were placed to locate cities.⁴⁹ This idea was developed further after the invention of the stereotypemaker. Various physical features were denoted by different arrangements of dots and cross-hatchings, and impressed on thin sheets of metal, and paper maps were embossed from these by means of a hand press.⁵⁰

With the purchase of the presses and type in 1891, Hall started a print shop that turned out books, maps and music—the books in Boston Line and the music in Braille. When the stereotypemaker was developed, the printing program was greatly expanded until, in 1902, over 14,000 brass plates, most of them music scores, were stored in a fireproof vault. Within a short time, the products of this printshop were being sold at low prices to buyers both in this country and abroad.⁵¹

Hall and the men whom he had trained at the school for the blind played a leading part in the event that marked the show-down between the educators who wanted New York Point to become standard in the schools of the United States and those who favored Braille. A long standing dispute was brought to a head in 1909 when the school authorities of New York City held a public meeting for advocates of both systems to present their cases. Everyone understood that the choice

⁴⁸ Edward E. Allen, "Frank H. Hall," in *Outlook for the Blind*, Vol. V (Jan., 1911), 57; John B. Curtis, "Frank H. Hall," *ibid.*, (April, 1911), 5.

⁴⁹ "Editorial Notes," in *The Mentor*, Vol. III (1893), 39.

⁵⁰ Trustees of the Illinois Institution, *Twenty-sixth Biennial Report*, (1900), 13.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-seventh Biennial Report* (1902), 6.

of so large an educational unit would strongly influence the rest of the United States.

Although Hall had long been out of active work with the blind he joined forces with John Curtis of Chicago, and George W. Jones, superintendent, and William Jewell, printer, of the the Illinois school in presenting the case for Braille. Two formal meetings were held in April and May, and Hall testified at both, speaking at length, and explaining why he had re-introduced Braille at his school, and why he had made his writing and printing machines to use that notation. Curtis, Jones and Jewell spoke about the ease with which students could learn Braille, pointed out that there were a large number of books and thousands of pieces of music available, that because Hall's stereotypemaker was simple to operate reading material and music could be produced so cheaply, and that Hall's stereotypemakers and writers were in use in such large places as the Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Missouri schools and in the public schools of Chicago.

The New York Point advocates fought back savagely, even accusing Hall of favoring Braille because he would profit from the use of his machines. Hall indignantly denied that he would profit personally, and explained that he had no patent on the machines, and that he had not tried to patent them because his only interest was in helping the blind.

The upshot was that New York City adopted Braille for its blind children. Frank Hall, his Braille writer and his stereotypemaker "had stemmed the tide of New York Point and, by supporting the Braille principle, opened the way to its universal victory."⁵²

Frank Hall had been living his third life as promoter of agricultural education for seven years when he was called to join the "battle of the types." In 1902 he left the school for

⁵² Rodenberg, *The Story of Books for the Blind*, 10; The testimony of Hall and others before the New York City Board of Education committee is printed at length in "Which Tactile Print for New York City?" in *Outlook for the Blind*, Vol. III, (1909), 24-46, 64-74.

the blind⁵³ and became superintendent of the Farmers' Institute of Illinois. Hall had had one foot in agricultural education as far back as his days at Sugar Grove. There he held a three-day meeting much like the later local farmers' institutes. Hall himself had given a lecture: "The Chemistry of Milk and Its Management in Butter-Making." The principal speaker was Professor G. E. Morrow of the State Industrial University at Champaign, who talked about "Livestock in Illinois Farming." Even while he was at the school for the blind, Hall maintained his interest in agriculture. He owned a farm in partnership with his son, and sold dairy products in the city of Aurora.⁵⁴ He spoke at farmers' institutes on the need for agricultural education in the public schools,⁵⁵ and he wrote an article on dairying.⁵⁶

Because of his speeches at farmers' and teachers' institutes Hall became well-known throughout the rural areas of Illinois, and when he resigned from the school for the blind, A. P. Grout, a leading farmer of Scott County, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Illinois Farmers' Institute, who was well acquainted with him, asked him to become superintendent of the organization with the principal duty of promoting local and state meetings.⁵⁷ After considerable discussion with the board of directors, Hall agreed to take the job on a fee basis: \$25 and his expenses if he attended one local institute in a week and \$40 for two. At the same time he would be permitted to continue his speaking at teachers' institutes.⁵⁸

⁵³ Hall resigned rather than make school jobs a matter of political patronage.

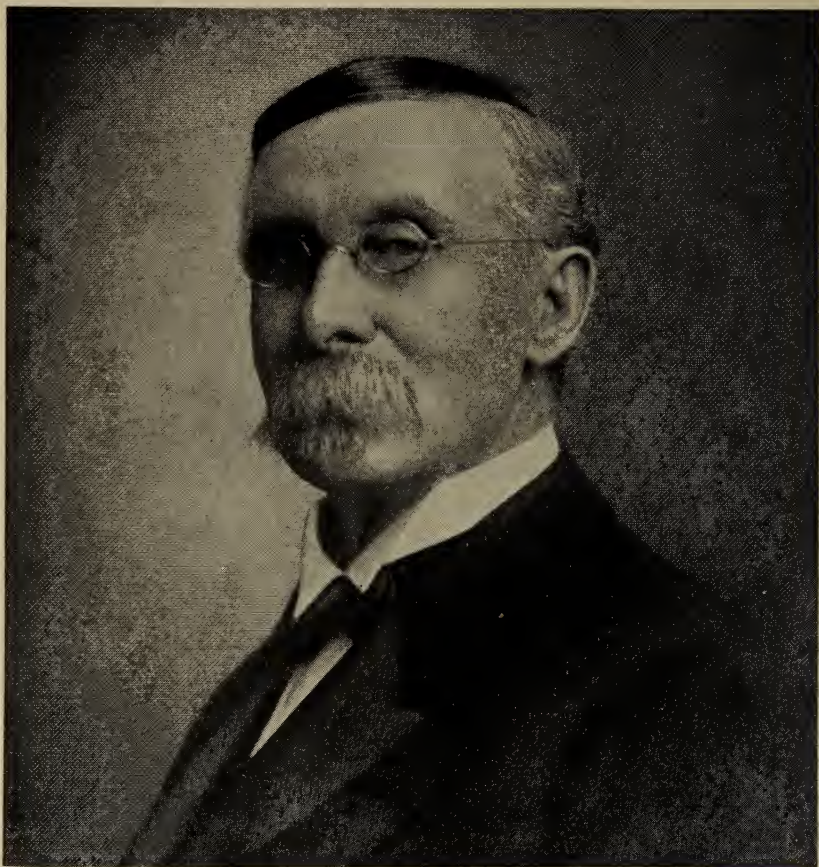
⁵⁴ *Frank H. Hall*, a brochure, 28.

⁵⁵ "The Relation of the School Work to Life on the Farm," in Illinois Farmers' Institute, *Annual Report* (1900), 401-404.

⁵⁶ "Digestibility of American Feeding Stuffs," (in collaboration with W. H. Jordan) in *Science*, n. s. Vol. XI (June 22, 1900), 988. In 1904 he wrote two more articles: "Chemistry of Cottage Cheese," in *Scientific American Supplement*, Vol. LVIII (Aug. 13, 1904), 23926-7; "Pea Cannery Problems Solved," *ibid.*, (Aug. 27, 1904), 23962.

⁵⁷ *Frank H. Hall*, a brochure, 60-62.

⁵⁸ Illinois Farmers' Institute, *Annual Report* (1903), 275. At this time Hall's position was not provided for in law, but the legislature amended the basic act in 1903 to create the position of Superintendent of Institutes. Hall's salary was changed several times, and before he resigned in 1910, he was earning \$3,000 a year, and devoting all his time to the job.



FRANK H. HALL

This picture of the educator-inventor-agriculturist was made during his second term as superintendent of the school for the blind.

The organization with which Hall became associated had been established by the state legislature in 1895 with the stated purpose of assisting and encouraging "useful education among farmers, and for developing the agricultural resources of the State."⁵⁹ Even before this, farmers' institutes had been held in the state as early as 1871 under the direction of the

⁵⁹ *Laws of Illinois*, 1895, 1. See also History of State Departments (Ms.) in State of Illinois, Department of Archives.

State University, and finally, in 1880, the State Board of Agriculture assisted local groups.⁶⁰ The farmers' institutes were sponsored nationally by the United States Department of Agriculture, and 3,179 were held in 1903. The institutes were regarded as the agency for disseminating the information developed by the agricultural colleges and experiment stations.

Hall's job as superintendent of the Farmers' Institute was to keep local leaders filled with enthusiasm so that they would work hard to prepare a program, publicize it, and make the meeting so enjoyable and worthwhile that people would want to come back again next year. One of Hall's constant problems, however, was to minimize the entertainment features and emphasize the educational values of the institutes. Hall believed that there should be some entertainment, but that most of the time should be devoted to inspirational talks about the place of the farmer in the world, and to informational lectures and demonstrations that would be of practical use to the farmer.⁶¹ For example, at one meeting Hall himself presided at a session at which there was an actual demonstration on the platform of the meeting hall of the milking machine, cream separator, and Babcock tester.⁶²

During the years when he was superintendent of the institutes, Hall saw their number increase from 105 to 195,⁶³ and his own work was a factor in this increase. He attended the local institutes—in 1903, forty-five of them, and sixty in 1908.⁶⁴

Hall sought to bring local teachers and county superintendents to work with farmers at the institutes, and, winning the support of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, he succeeded in having the teaching of agriculture introduced into some of the schools, and in persuading the state normal schools to give courses in agriculture which would equip school

⁶⁰ Illinois Farmers' Institute, *Annual Report* (1904), 243-46.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 18-25; *ibid.* (1907), 33-38.

⁶² *Ibid.*, (1909), 263ff.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, (1904), 18; *ibid.*, (1910), 24.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, (1904), 18; *ibid.*, (1909), 31.

teachers to give instruction to children. Hall also worked with the normal schools in setting up institutes and short courses for farmers. He worked closely with the University of Illinois, and set up speaking schedules for the teachers in the agriculture department and the men at the Experiment Station so that they could attend as many local institutes and speak to as many people as possible and yet lose little time from their other duties. Hall firmly believed that the working farmer should make intensive use of the skills of the agricultural experts, and he constantly strove to create a situation of mutual understanding between the practical farmer and the theorist.⁶⁵

Hall was a great success at his job. He had an easy, informal manner of speaking, yet impressed his hearers as a man of learning. He was a good administrator and could be forthright in expressing a viewpoint without being belligerent or dogmatic.⁶⁶ He impressed the men with whom he worked with his sincerity and his whole-hearted interest in the improvement of agriculture, not only for the dollars-and-cents that would flow into the farmer's pocket, but also because the daily life of the farmer's family would be richer.

Hall worked very hard at this job, and rather than drop some of his responsibilities as he grew older, he added to them. He served as official state delegate to the Farmer's National Congress in 1908, and to the National Farm Land Congress in 1909, and he was a member of the National Conservation Commission.⁶⁷ Too, he continued to visit more and more local institutes each year, and in the days before rapid transportation, this was exhausting. Although he remained physically strong, and was accustomed to horse and buggy traveling in all kinds of weather, one experience in the winter of 1909, when he had to drive through a snowstorm and then wait

⁶⁵ These are general conclusions from reading Hall's remarks in the annual reports of the Farmers' Institute.

⁶⁶ See Hall's reports and remarks to the board of directors in the annual reports of the Farmers' Institute.

⁶⁷ *Frank H. Hall*, a brochure, 31.

several hours in a cold railroad station was too much for him, and he contracted a respiratory infection. To this he paid little attention, although he was left with a bad cough, and he continued his winter's work. Finally, in the spring of 1910 he had to give up, and the doctors declared that he had tuberculosis of the lungs and diabetes, and he died from these diseases on January 3, 1911.⁶⁸

Frank Hall was a useful citizen of Illinois. In the three fields in which he worked, during the three lives he lived, he made vital contributions. While these were not world-shakingly important they did re-direct forces already working so that desirable results were hurried along.

Frank Haven Hall has never been listed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, nor is he often mentioned among Illinois greats, but in his own city of Aurora he is well-remembered. Soon after his death, a bronze bust was placed in the public library,⁶⁹ and his children published a widely circulated memorial brochure. In Jacksonville, too, at the Illinois Braille and Sight-Saving School, is another memorial: the print shop where Hall's stereotypemaker and his mapmaker are in daily use. Today, in 1956, there are many people, some who see and some who do not, who feel a warm inward glow because they knew Frank H. Hall as teacher and friend.⁷⁰

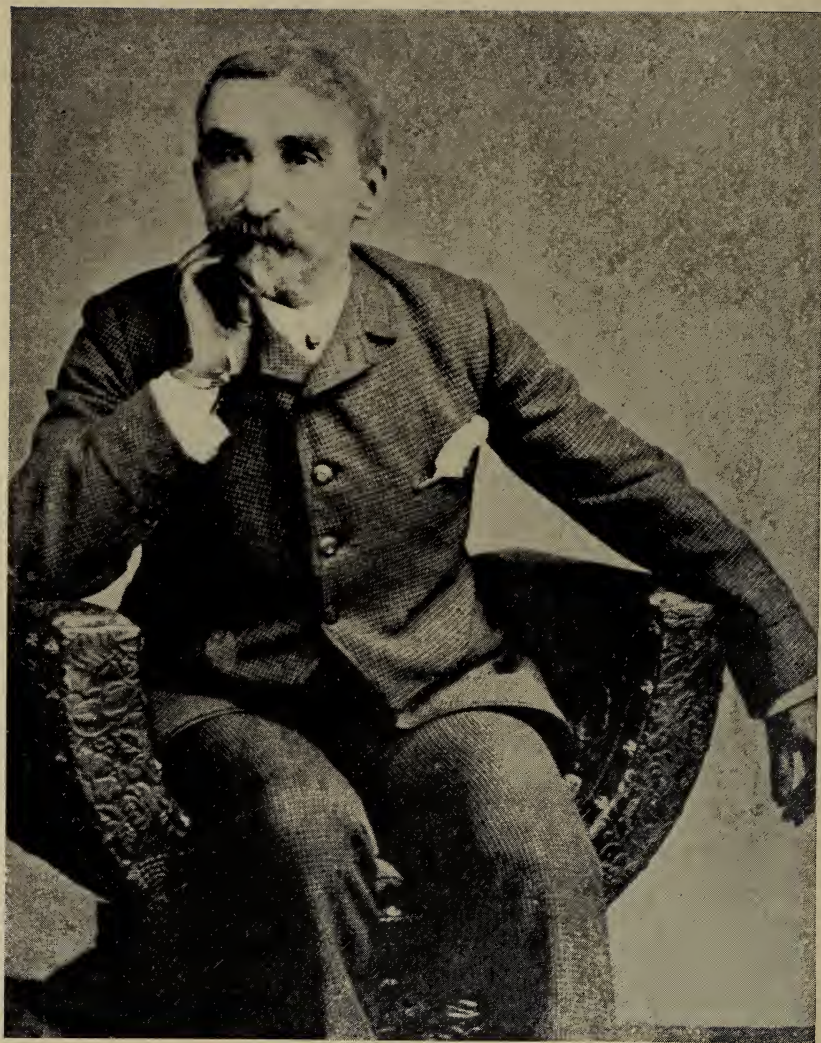
I wish to express my appreciation for the kindness of Superintendent Leo J. Flood, Miss Helen Sweeney, teacher and curator of historical materials, and Louis W. Rodenberg, Superintendent of Blind Services, all of the Illinois Braille and Sight-Saving School in Jacksonville, in supplying me with necessary materials and for their patient explanation of technical aspects of the education of the blind. The responsibility for the facts and conclusions in this article, however, rests with me alone.

W. B. H.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

⁶⁹ *Aurora Beacon-News*, Nov. 1, 1913.

⁷⁰ See letters to the author from Bess Bower Dunn, Waukegan, Ill., June 21, 1955 and George W. Gerlach, La Grange Highlands, Ill. Mar. 28, 1955.



JOSEPH KIRKLAND

From the frontispiece photograph of *The Captain of Company K.*

JOSEPH KIRKLAND'S COMPANY K

BY CLAYTON A. HOLADAY

THREE articles in this *Journal* during recent years call attention to the work of a long neglected Illinois novelist and historian, Joseph Kirkland. The earliest of these, by Professor John T. Flanagan,¹ mentions Kirkland's first two novels, *Zury, The Meanest Man in Spring County* (1887) and *The McVeys: An Episode* (1888), in connection with his study of the midwestern historical novel. In a subsequent issue,² Professor Clyde E. Henson sketches Kirkland's life, comments briefly on the two novels mentioned by Professor Flanagan, and then discusses in some detail the biographical and historical elements of the introductory chapters of Kirkland's third novel, *The Captain of Company K* (1891), a Civil War story. The most recent Kirkland article in the *Journal*³ contains the only thorough analysis of *The Prairie Chicken* (1864-1865) to be found in print.

In so far as Illinois history is concerned, Kirkland's last

¹ John T. Flanagan, "The Middle Western Historical Novel," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXVII (March, 1944), 7-47.

² Clyde E. Henson, "Joseph Kirkland's Novels," *ibid.*, Vol. XLIV (Summer, 1951), 142-46.

³ "The Prairie Chicken: A Rarity," *ibid.*, Vol. XLVII (Spring, 1954), 84-88; see also John O. Mabbott and Philip D. Jordan, "The Prairie Chicken," *ibid.*, Vol. XXV (Oct., 1932), 154-66.

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novel, *The Captain of Company K*, is the most interesting of the three. It is, probably, the only realistic novel about the Civil War based upon the actual experiences of midwestern volunteers. For this reason, if for no other, it deserves more complete analysis than it has heretofore received.

To understand what Kirkland was trying to do in this novel, how he used factual materials, and what relation the novel bears to actual history, it is first necessary to review briefly that portion of the author's life directly concerned with the war.

When war broke out in 1861, Joseph Kirkland, then thirty, was living with his family in Danville, Illinois, where he was an agent for the Chicago and Carbon Coal Company. Having met Lincoln when Lincoln was riding the old Eighth Circuit, and having entertained him at least once in his home,⁴ Kirkland wrote to Lincoln on January 6, 1861, to offer his services as a private secretary when Lincoln should take over the duties of the presidency in March.⁵ Failing to obtain this position, Kirkland volunteered for active service in the Army on April 25, 1861, in Danville.⁶ Possibly because he had lived in Chicago for several years previous to coming to Danville and still had many friends there, Kirkland joined Company C, Twelfth Illinois Infantry Regiment (three month volunteers), which was considered a Chicago regiment.⁷ Along with John McVey and several other boys from the Danville area, he caught the troop train of the Illinois Central at Campaign and headed south for training at Camp Defiance, just outside Cairo. On the train or shortly after their arrival in camp, the men of Company C elected Kirkland Second Lieutenant.

During most of the month of May, Kirkland drilled,

⁴ For Kirkland's account of this evening, see *The Prairie Chicken*, July, 1865; see also Mabbott and Jordan, "Prairie Chicken," 164-66.

⁵ Robert Todd Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress, Letter 5833.

⁶ *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1900) I: 340.

⁷ *Ibid.*

learned discipline, and practiced tactics with the other volunteers of the Twelfth Illinois. Very probably like the others, he also became impatient with delays and longed for some real action.

In the meantime, another former Chicagoan, George B. McClellan, had been recalled to active duty and given the task of organizing the Department of the Ohio which consisted of the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.⁸ On one of his early inspection tours of military installations in the area, he renewed his acquaintance with Lieutenant Joseph Kirkland, a young man whom he had met five years earlier in Chicago when both were working for the Illinois Central Railroad. Late in May or early in June when McClellan took the field in preparation for the invasion of western Virginia, Kirkland joined him as an aide on detached service from the Twelfth Illinois Volunteers.⁹ Although he was serving with McClellan during the battles of Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill in the West Virginia campaign, he seems not to have participated actively in either of these actions since there are no references to him in connection with them in *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records* or in George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story* (New York, 1887).

After successfully carrying out the West Virginia campaign, McClellan left for Washington, D. C., on July 22, 1861, to replace General McDowell as commander of the Army of the Potomac. At the same time Kirkland apparently returned to Camp Defiance to await further developments. He did not have long to wait, for shortly after McClellan arrived in Washington, he offered Kirkland a promotion to the rank of captain and a position on his personal staff to assist him in

⁸ George B. McClellan, *Report on the Organization and Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac: To Which Is Added an Account of the Campaigns in Western Virginia* (New York, 1864), 11. "It was not until the 13th May that the order, forming the Department of the Ohio and assigning me to the command, was received."

⁹ *Ibid.*, 35-36. McClellan says Kirkland was on his staff "at the time of taking the field," which could refer to May 27, 1861 the date when he first issued orders for the formation of an army, or to June 14, 1861, when he actually began to move troops east.

the reorganization of the Army and the preparation for the campaign against Richmond. Kirkland left the Twelfth Illinois Volunteers permanently on August 26, 1861, to join McClellan in Washington.¹⁰

Serving first under McClellan and later Fitz-John Porter, Kirkland fought through the entire Peninsular Campaign, and the *Official Records* carry five reports by his superior officers attesting to his bravery and self-sacrifice under fire. Unfortunately, however, this close association with two of the most controversial figures of the early war years involved him indirectly in the struggle for power in the Army that was going on between General McClellan and his supporters on the one hand, and General Pope and Secretary of War Stanton on the other. Although Kirkland tried to stay on the sidelines—he was serving as volunteer aid to General Butterfield in the battle of Fredericksburg during the court-martial of General Porter—he found himself, late in 1862, reduced in rank and completely unassigned. Realizing that through no fault of his own his effectiveness to the war effort was ended, he resigned his commission on January 7, 1863, and returned to civilian life in Danville.

Kirkland was not embittered by his experiences in the war, but he had come to know personally of the delay and sometimes even the subversion of the primary purpose for fighting which behind-the-lines battles can have on the war effort. As a result, his complete sympathy lay with the common soldier who, as he stated some thirty years later, "is like a blind horse in a quarry; a precipice on every side and a lighted blast under his feet; his only comfort the bit in his mouth and the feeling of a human hand holding the reins over his back."¹¹

Ironically, within a few months after Kirkland left the Twelfth Illinois in order to "get into the war," it began a

¹⁰ *Ill. Adj. Gen. Rept.*, (Springfield, 1867) I: 205.

¹¹ Joseph Kirkland, *The Captain of Company K*, (Chicago, 1891), 187.

series of campaigns that were to carry it first into Kentucky, then to Tennessee and Mississippi, and eventually all the way to the Atlantic in Sherman's march to the sea. That Kirkland did not lose track of his old regiment is proved by the fact that in the April 1, 1865 issue of *The Prairie Chicken* he published an original poem entitled "From Atlanta to the Sea" which he wrote in the dialect of central Illinois, and later, in the November 1, 1865 issue, a letter from John Shipner, a Tilton, Illinois boy who had lost a leg in battle (an incident which may have suggested the injury to the central character, Fargeon, in *The Captain of Company K*). The subsequent report of the death of "Dick" Skinner and John Kinzie, sons of two of his old Chicago associates, reminded Kirkland and other Chicagoans of the toll which four years of service takes on any regiment.

The circumstance which brought Kirkland and the Twelfth Illinois Volunteers together again in 1889 grew out of the composition of his first two novels, *Zury*, *The Meanest Man in Spring County*, and *The McVeys*. Although he never actually articulated a plan of development, it is quite apparent from his letters to Hamlin Garland in 1887-1888 that he came to think of his novels as a sort of three-part fictional history of the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century in Illinois.¹² *Zury* told of the hardship of farm life in the early years and the effect which this life could have on a sensitive person; *The McVeys* covered much the same period but dealt with life in the small town and in the growing railroad and mining industries; *The Captain of Company K* would bring together representatives from the various areas to show the influence of war upon the common soldier, the product of these varied forces.

Because Kirkland's novel was to represent Illinois' effort in the war, he could not use his own experiences in the Penin-

¹² For Kirkland's letters to Garland see Clayton A. Holaday, "The Captain of Company K, A Twice-Told Tale," *American Literature*, XXV (1953), 62-69.

sular Campaign as source material since most of the troops in McClellan's army had been drawn from the New England states. He finally solved this problem by combining his own memories of scenes and situations with the actual record of the battles in which the Twelfth fought as obtained from magazine articles, pictures, and conversation with veterans.

The Captain of Company K opens with a vivid picture of the recruiting activities in the noisy, dust filled old Wigwam in Chicago where Lincoln had been nominated as the Republican candidate for President less than a year before. Kirkland shows the enthusiastic but completely disorganized efforts of the people to equip a volunteer regiment, and the tearful departure of the men for camp. Following the troops to Cairo, he describes in realistic detail the monotony and boredom of the life of the trainee¹³ and introduces us to several typical soldiers: the braggart-coward; the humble, steady country boy; the frightened new officer; the dependable, businesslike "regular Army" lieutenant.

The first battle in which Kirkland's Company K engages can be equated with an abortive raid in which the Twelfth took part near Paducah, Kentucky, called the Grand Hill Skirmish. Although Kirkland supplied a few accurate details such as the fact that the "Sixth" (this is, the real Twelfth) was carried to the scene of the skirmish aboard the steamer *J. R. Graham*, the description of the fighting probably bears closer resemblance to his own first experience under fire in Virginia than to the actual exploits of the Twelfth. The Confederate officer, Captain Huger, for example, with whom Fargeon in the novel discusses an exchange of prisoners, was actually General Benjamin Huger of South Carolina, an officer in the Confederate Army opposing McClellan in the Peninsula; and it was the soldiers of South Carolina who were called "Fire Eaters," not those of Louisiana as in the novel.

¹³ For a more detailed account of this part of the novel and possible biographical elements in it, see Henson, "Kirkland's Novels," 144-45.

Though Kirkland's account of this minor engagement is no doubt historically inaccurate, it is noteworthy in the development of realistic fiction as possibly the first example of a description of battle in which the "hero" of the story became so frightened that he not only did not lead his troops to victory, but actually ran from the fighting. It is important, too, as a realistic picture of new soldiers marching off to battle loaded down with useless equipment, some even carrying their tent floor boards strapped to their backs. This first stage in the transformation of the civilian soldier into the battle hardened veteran was a ludicrous one, and Kirkland did not spare either his own feelings or those of his old comrades in order to throw into sharper perspective the subsequent picture of the grim visaged, humorless fighting machine that these men became.

The second stage in this transformation for Kirkland's "Sixth Illinois," as it was for the real Twelfth, was the capture of Fort Donelson. In his description of this battle, however, Kirkland follows the historical record much more closely than he had in that of the Grand Hill Skirmish. He describes the landing of the troops in the swamp which guarded the river approaches to the town of Dover, Tennessee and the Fort, and he explains in some detail the unsuccessful attempt of the Confederate General Buckner to break through the Union lines for an escape southwestward. He mentions the presence of Taylor's Battery, another Chicago unit that took part in the battle, and accurately analyzes the decision of the Confederate staff to send General Floyd to safety across the Tennessee River, leaving General Buckner "to bear the burden of defeat and ruin."¹⁴ Kirkland's account of the fighting ends, as did the actual battle, with the appearance of the white flag of surrender over the Fort just as the Union forces are preparing for what many thought would be a suicidal attempt to take it by assault.

¹⁴ Kirkland, *Captain of Company K*, 188-210; see also Lew Wallace, "The Capture of Fort Donelson," in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, (4 vols., ed. by Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel of *Century Magazine*. New York, 1887), 1: 420-26.

Of some historical interest, too, is Kirkland's description of General Grant spraddled on a camp stool at the entrance to the hospital tent, "a short, dark man in plain clothes and a slouch hat, smoking a cigar."¹⁵ Kirkland also reports accurately Grant's response when, on Saturday, February 15, 1862, General Buckner proposed capitulation and asked terms: "Unconditional surrender," Grant replied, adding, "I propose to move at once upon your works."¹⁶

The novel, however, contains more than a stale rehashing of the events of the battle. Again we are indebted to Kirkland for a realistic picture of the incredible confusion and lack of planning that characterized the fighting in the early days of the war. Disembarking from the steamer *Saginaw*, the men of the "Sixth" flounder through the mud and snow to their assigned position only to discover that their supply wagons have not arrived and that they must spend the night in near zero weather without tents or other equipment. Then, late the next day, Company K, which is stationed "on the right," is attacked by a strong Confederate force. When the men, according to instructions from Captain Fargeon, begin to retire, they are fired on by their own men under command of Colonel Puller. This "affair on the right," though probably apocryphal, suggests the inefficiency and appalling lack of wisdom which was typical of the actions of many of the ranking officers of the volunteer regiments since appointments were frequently made for political rather than military reasons.

Another detail in the novel based upon fact but probably altered by Kirkland for purposes of satire, grows out of the visit to Fort Donelson after the battle by Governor Yates and a group of volunteer nurses sent south by the Chicago chapter of the Sanitary Commission.¹⁷ Captain Fargeon, like his cre-

¹⁵ Kirkland, *Captain of Company K*, 203; Wallace, "Capture of Ft. Donelson," 205, says, "In dress he [Grant] was plain, even negligent. . . . at the council—calling it such by grace—he smoked, but never said a word."

¹⁶ Kirkland, *Captain of Company K*, 214.

¹⁷ Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York, 1940), II: 258n.

ator Captain Kirkland, has contracted swamp fever; but when "the burden-sharers," including Fargeon's fiancée, arrive, they are so sickened by the sight of the wounded men that all except one spend their time on board the steamer *Athabasca* or in the little town of Dover entertaining the officers.

The final engagement into which Kirkland sends the men of the "Sixth Illinois" is the Battle of Shiloh. Again he bases his account solidly upon fact, modifying events slightly to suit the needs of fiction. He picks up the story of the battle at the time the troops are encamped at Pittsburg Landing in Tennessee, preparing for an attack against the Confederates at Corinth, Mississippi. A discussion of tactics between Captain Fargeon and Lieutenant McClintock reveals that Grant is waiting for reinforcements being brought up by General Buell before attacking. The Lieutenant, however, fears that the Confederates under Generals Beauregard and Johnston may attack first. Since Kirkland is writing from hindsight, that is exactly what happens.

Kirkland's description of this battle is by far the most effective in the novel. He begins with a view of the men lolling indolently about the camp, made lethargic by what seems to them to be unseasonable early April heat. Then we see them strike their tents, strip themselves of extra equipment, and prepare for fighting as the first reports of enemy action filter back from the forward units. We catch glimpses of skulkers sliding from tree to tree as they try to reach safety in the rear, and of officers charging up and down the lines, brandishing their swords and threatening to shoot any man who fails to hold his place in the line. An artillery unit, the Fourth U. S. Artillery, sets up its guns in a businesslike way and begins to shell enemy positions.¹⁸

As the day wears on, it begins to take on a hideous night-

¹⁸ According to Gen. Don Carlos Buell, "Shiloh Reviewed", *Battles and Leaders*, I: 538, H and M companies of the Fourth U. S. Artillery, Capt. John Mendenhall commanding, were attached to the Fourteenth Brigade and fought throughout the battle.

mare quality. Lines break, companies become completely disorganized, and no one knows where friend or foe stands. We experience this terrifying disintegration of a fighting force through the eyes of Captain Fargeon and Corporal Mark Looney, who become separated from their friends of Company K in the violent fighting during the afternoon of the first day when Company K and the others of the "Sixth" are caught in the thick of the fighting in that area of the battlefield appropriately named the "Hornets' Nest."¹⁹ Kirkland's account of this action seems to be historically accurate, inspired, I believe, by the graphic pictures of the "Hornets' Nest" fighting contained in the *Cyclorama of Shiloh* which was on display in Chicago at least as early as 1887.²⁰ Kirkland describes the beginning of the battle, the subsequent action in which the "Sixth" (that is, the real Twelfth) is isolated and flanked,²¹ and the final pell-mell retreat in which it is driven back into the lines of a Michigan regiment.²²

With the lull in the fighting at the end of the first day, Kirkland breaks off his description of the battle and returns to an account of the fortunes of his protagonist, Captain Fargeon, who lies wounded at the edge of the "Hornets' Nest," attended only by his corporal, Mark Looney. Having no idea of where their own lines are, if indeed there are any "lines," they huddle hopelessly in a thicket, listening to the distant thunder of the artillery and the more frightening sounds of corpse robbers close by. This shocking activity, which must

¹⁹ For a factual account of the fight in this area, see *ibid.*, 504-6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 504, 505, 511, includes pictures of four scenes from that section of the *Cyclorama* which covers the Hornets' Nest action. Kirkland's account can be found in *Captain of Company K*, 284-94.

²¹ U. S. Grant, "The Battle of Shiloh," *Battles and Leaders*, I: 473, says, "In one of the backward moves, on the 6th, the division commanded by General Prentiss did not fall back with the others. This left his flanks exposed, and enabled the enemy to capture him, with about 2200 of his officers and men." On p. 472 there is a drawing of the Confederates charging into the Camp of Gen. Prentiss.

²² According to Gen. Buell, "Shiloh Reviewed," pp. 496-98, the Twelfth Illinois was commanded by W. H. L. Wallace under General Smith (see diagram pp. 496-97); the Michigan troops into whose midst Kirkland's "Sixth" is accurately described as retreating was a part of the Sixth Division commanded by General Prentiss. The fierceness of the fighting is attested by the fact that Wallace was killed and General Prentiss taken prisoner.

have accompanied many of the battles, becomes even more terrifying as we listen to the robbers fighting over the bodies of the dead soldiers. Fearing their treatment at the hands of the corpse robbers (Confederate or Union) even more than capture, Corporal Looney volunteers to search for aid and is eventually successful. Fargeon is rescued and counts himself lucky to have lost only one leg in the engagement.

Except for occasional references to subsequent battles in which the "Sixth" took part, Kirkland's "history" of the "Chicago Regiment's" participation in the war ends with Shiloh. He does, however mention other subjects of interest to students of Illinois history. The reference to Dr. Brainard²³ whom Fargeon was sure could cure the "swamp fever" he contracted at Donelson is another of those realistic touches Kirkland was so fond of working into his fiction. Dr. Brainard was an eminent Chicago physician, a member of Rush Medical College.²⁴ Judge Mark Skinner, the friend of Captain Fargeon's benefactor Colin Thorburn,²⁵ was a well known Chicago barrister, prominent in both city and state politics, particularly in the Democratic Party.²⁶ General McClellan, whose name appears several times in the novel, needs no further identification. Kirkland obviously held his wartime commander in as high regard as he had nearly thirty years before despite the fact that McClellan had been discredited in the eyes of many people. And the novel shows why. Kirkland believed that McClellan's primary concern during his tenure as General of the Army of the Potomac had been for the welfare of the common soldier, and that he had sacrificed political advantage to preserve this principle.

One example will suffice. When Fargeon and McClintock are discussing tactics before the battle of Shiloh, McClintock suggests that they should be building trenches around

²³ Kirkland, *Captain of Company K*, 229.

²⁴ Pierce, *History of Chicago*, II: 399.

²⁵ Kirkland, *Captain of Company K*, 327.

²⁶ Pierce, *History of Chicago*, II: 225 and *passim*.

the Pittsburg Landing encampment just in case the Confederates should attack first. Fargeon immediately quotes Section 643 of "Army Regulations" pointing out that "unless the army be acting on defensive, no post should be intrenched,"²⁷ and he reminds McClintock that it was just such cautiousness on McClellan's part that brought him into disfavor with the Northern press.

"I've heard our men laugh at McClellan for a 'dirt-shoveler,' as the newspapers called him."

"Captain Fargeon, that was before our men ever smelt powder, I guess. You mark a line on the ground and say, 'Boys, you'll fight *there*;' now do as you've a mind to about building breast-works," and what do you think will happen?"

Will laughed. "I think *I* should begin hunting picks and shovels myself; so I suppose others would too."

"Yes, *sir*! Or bayonets, musket-butts, rails, branches, tin-cups, dinner-plates, caps, shoes, feet, fists, fingers, and finger-nails, if they couldn't find picks and shovels!"

"The breast-work would suit everybody but the enemy, I should think."

"If I were Little Mac, I'd glory in the name of the 'dirt-shoveler.' The newspaper fighters—back in their solid brick walls—may laugh and jeer, but you watch and see what the rank and file of the army in the field thinks of McClellan."²⁸

What is significant about this and other passages in which McClellan's name is brought up is the emphasis upon McClellan's concern for the safety of his men in clear contrast, by implication, to Grant's "I propose to move at once upon your works." Kirkland obviously still held his former commander in high regard, but he also respected General Grant and his method of conducting war and did not hesitate to praise each for what he did best.

A word remains to be said about *The Captain of Company K* in relation to other Civil War fiction. It is not, as Professor Henson implies, merely a fictionalized account of the author's brief period of service in the Illinois Volunteers.

²⁷ Kirkland, *Captain of Company K*, 264.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 265.

Nor is it, like its contemporary, *Corporal Si Klegg and His Pard*, by Colonel Wilbur F. Hinman, simply a series of humorous incidents based upon the author's knowledge of soldiers and soldiering gained through several years of service in various theatres of the war. It is, rather, a serious attempt on the part of the author to record in fiction the actual exploits of an identifiable group of soldiers. As Professor Flanagan has demonstrated,²⁹ it is an inferior novel; but one explanation for its inferiority lies in the fact that Kirkland could never bring himself to sacrifice history to fiction. Furthermore, in its unadorned picture of the horrors of war frequently made worse by the bungling and downright stupidity of incompetent officers, and in its insistence upon the dignity of the common soldier, it clearly marks the path to what has come to be thought of as the "modern" approach to the theme of war in fiction. Illinois is indeed fortunate to have such an unusual memorial to her participation in the most significant of all civil conflicts.

²⁹ John T. Flanagan, "Joseph Kirkland, Pioneer Realist," *American Literature*, Vol. 11 (1939), 279-80.

THE PIASA BIRD: FACT OR FICTION?

BY WAYNE C. TEMPLE

THE first account of the painting known as the Piasa Bird, said to have been executed by Indians on the bluffs near Alton, Illinois, was recorded by Jacques Marquette in 1673.¹ He and Louis Jolliet discovered the drawing during their explorations of the Mississippi River. Prior to the start of their voyage, the Menominee Indians had warned Marquette, in May, 1673, that he would encounter "horrible monsters, which devoured men and Canoes Together; that there was even a demon, who was heard from a great distance, who barred the way, and swallowed up all who ventured to approach him."² The Indians who told these tales were not only superstitious but they also wished to discourage the French from discovering other tribes with whom they might trade. Much superstition prevailed, too, among Europeans of the Seventeenth Century, and Marquette—after hearing these tales of

¹ Some scholars think that Marquette's account was taken from a copy of Jolliet's Journal, the original of which was lost in a canoe accident. Francis Borgia Steck, "What Became of Jolliet's Journal?" *The Americas*, Vol. V (Oct., 1948), 172-99.

² Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), LIX: 97.

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the Menominee—did allow his imagination to run rampant soon after he entered the waters of the Mississippi. In describing a strange water animal he wrote: "we saw on The water a monster with the head of a tiger, a sharp nose Like That of a wildcat, with whiskers and straight, Erect ears; The head was gray and The Neck quite black."³

With his mind full of the Menominee warnings, Marquette next encountered two grotesque figures painted on a Mississippi bluff some distance north of the Missouri River. He wrote:

While Skirting some rocks, which by Their height and Length inspired awe, We saw upon one of them two painted monsters which at first made Us afraid, and upon Which the boldest savages dare not Long rest their eyes. They are as large As a calf; they have Horns on their heads Like those of deer, a horrible look, red eyes, a beard Like a tiger's, a face somewhat like a man's, a body Covered with scales, and so Long A tail that it winds all around the Body, passing above the head and going back between the legs, ending in a Fish's tail. Green, red, and black are the three Colors composing the Picture. Moreover, these 2 monsters are so well painted that we cannot believe that any savage is their author; for good painters in france would find it difficult to paint so well,—and, besides, they are so high up on the rock that it is difficult to reach that place Conveniently to paint them. Here is approximately The shape of these monsters, As we have faithfully Copied It.⁴

The drawing has been lost, but Sieur Robert La Salle saw it and reported in 1680 that:

The monster a sketch of which the Sieur Jolliet brought back is a grotesque [figure] painted by some Indian of the river: no one will avow its origin. It is a day and a half's journey from Crèvecoeur and if the Sieur Jolliet had descended a little farther he would have seen another more frightful still.⁵

Evidently some Indian or trader had reported the existence of a second painting farther down the Mississippi; La Salle

³ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 139-41.

⁵ Theodore Calvin Pease and Raymond C. Werner, eds., *The French Foundations, 1680-1693* (Springfield, Ill., 1934), 4-5.

himself did not journey down the river until 1682. This second drawing presumably was at Cape St. Anthony, a point on the east bank midway between the Ohio and Missouri rivers. But Jolliet and Marquette seem to have traveled as far south as the mouth of the Arkansas, and they made no mention of another Indian painting.

On December 12, 1698, J. F. Buisson St. Cosme, a Missionary priest, reached the second spot mentioned by La Salle and reported that there was a rock 200 feet high which was called Cape St. Anthony. "We saw no figure there as we had been told,"⁶ he wrote, but since his visit was eighteen years after La Salle's report, the figure could have weathered away.

Father Louis Hennepin, a Recollect Missionary, claimed to have observed the painting in 1680, but he published his account in 1697 at Utrecht under the title *Nouvelle Découverte d'un Très Grand Pays*. His first book, written in 1683, makes no mention of the paintings. Actually he obtained his report from one published in 1691 by Father Christian Le Clercq, another Recollect Missionary. Le Clercq's book, *Établissement de la Foi*, contained Father Anastasius Douay's observation of the paintings, but it was suppressed and was unknown to the general public.⁷ Hennepin's paraphrase of Douay stated:

I had quite forgot to relate, that the *Illinois* had told us, that towards the Cape, which I have call'd in my Map *St. Anthony* near the Nation of the *Messorites*, there were some *Tritons*, and other Sea-Monsters painted, which the boldest Men durst not look upon, there being some Enchantment in their Faces. I thought this was a Story; but when we came near the Place they had mention'd, we saw instead of these Monsters, a Horse and some other Beasts painted upon the Rock with red Colours by the Savages. The *Illinois* had told us likewise, that the Rock on which these dreadful Monsters stood, was so steep that no Man could climb up to it; but had we not been afraid of the Savages more than of the Monsters, we had certainly got up

⁶ John Gilmary Shea., ed., *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, by Cavelier, St. Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, and Guignas (Albany, 1861), 68-69.

⁷ Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America by Father Louis Hennepin* (Chicago, 1903), I: xxxiv. Hennepin's first book, *A Description of Louisiana*, is thought to be reliable.

to them. There is a common Tradition amongst that People, That a great number of *Miami's* were drown'd in that Place, being pursu'd by the Savages of *Matsigamea*; and since that time, the Savages going by the Rock, use to smoak, and offer Tobacco to those Beasts, to appease, as they say, the *Manitou*, that is, in the Language of the *Algonquins* and *Accadians*, an evil Spirit, which the *Iroquese* call *Otkon*; but the Name is the only thing they know of him.⁸

Douay's account was written in 1687 and published four years later by Le Clercq. It has none of the supernatural element with which Marquette's abounds. Although there was a rivalry between the two orders—Douay being a Recollect and Marquette a Jesuit—the former's report appears to be trustworthy. In speaking of Marquette's monsters, Douay said:

I had brought with me the printed book of this pretended discovery, and I remarked all along my route that there was not a word of truth in it. . . . It is said that they saw painted monsters that the boldest would have difficulty to look at, and that there was something supernatural about them. This frightful monster is a horse painted on a rock with matachia, and some other wild beasts made by the Indians. It is said that they can not be reached, and yet I touched them without difficulty. The truth is that the *Miamis*, pursued by the *Matsigamea*, having been drowned in the river, the Indians ever since that time present tobacco to these grotesque figures whenever they pass, in order to appease the *manitou*.⁹

Henri Joutel arrived upon the scene of these paintings in September, 1687—the same year that Douay observed them—and his report seems to confirm Douay's account:

The 2d [of September, 1687], we arriv'd at the Place, where the Figure is of the pretended Monster spoken of by Father *Marquet*. That Monster consists of two scurvy Figures drawn in red, on the flat Side of a Rock, about eight or ten Foot high, which wants very much of the extraordinary Height that Relation mentions. However our *Indians* paid Homage, by offering Sacrifice to that Stone; tho' we endeavour'd to give them to understand, that

⁸ Thwaites, ed., *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, I: 207-208.

⁹ John Gilmary Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley: With the Original Narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membré, Hennepin, and Anastase Douay* (New York, 1852), 222-23; *First Establishment of the Faith in New France by Father Christian Le Clercq* (New York, 1881), II: 273-74.

the said Rock had no Manner of Virtue, and that we worship'd something above it, pointing up to Heaven; but it was no Purpose, and they made Signs to us, that they should die if they did not perform that Duty.¹⁰

In December, 1698, St. Cosme passed the spot and recorded his observation of the figures: "Three or four leagues [below the Illinois] we found on the left a rock having some figures painted on it, for which, it is said, the Indians have some veneration. They are now almost effaced."¹¹

The important fact in St. Cosme's account is that the effects of weathering had almost obliterated the figures near Alton by 1698; and when he reached Cape St. Anthony a few days later, he found no paintings at all. St. Cosme's report is the last reliable one about the Piasa painting near Alton. François Xavier de Charlevoix, an excellent observer, traveled down the Mississippi in 1721, but he made no mention of any strange paintings on the bluffs,¹² nor have any contemporary records been found which describe them during the Eighteenth Century.

It was not until the period of 1804-1812 that anyone again claimed to have seen the figures. Major Amos Stoddard gave this testimony in his book published in 1812: "What they call *Painted Monsters* on the side of a high perpendicular rock, apparently inaccessible to man, between the Missouri and Illinois, and known to the moderns by the name of *Piesas*, still remain in a good degree of preservation."¹³

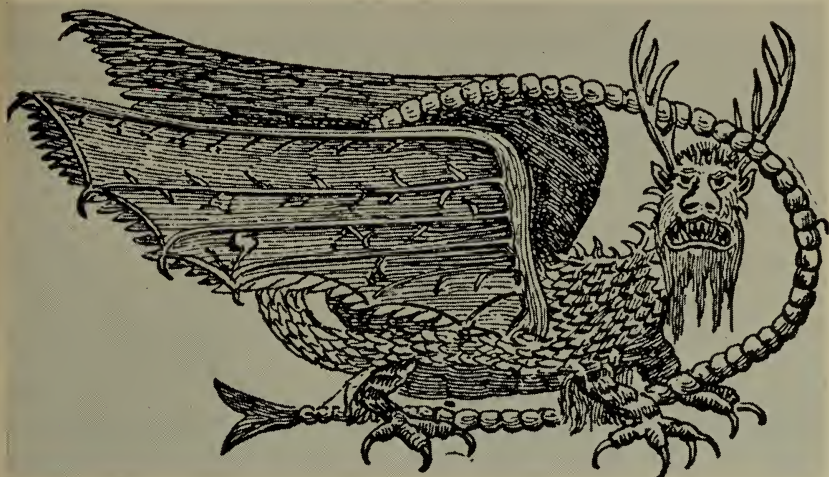
It is difficult to believe that the figures were visible in 1812 if they were nearly effaced in 1698 unless they had been restored by someone. In fact, the Hon. Murray McConnel of Jacksonville, Illinois, observed the rock in 1824 and later reported to John F. Snyder that he had seen nothing but

¹⁰ Henry Reed Stiles, ed., *Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage 1684-7* (Albany, 1906), 186-87.

¹¹ Shea, ed., *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, 65-66.

¹² Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed., *Journal of a Voyage to North America* (Chicago, 1923), 2 vols.

¹³ Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1812), 17.



Illinois State Museum photo

WILLIAM DENNIS' DRAWING OF THE PIASA BIRD

This is the best-known version and is said to have been made on April 3, 1825.

"blotches of rusty-looking discoloration, such as stained the exposed faces of the cliffs generally."¹⁴ Such coloration may have been caused by the iron oxide which is found in the limestone there.

In 1836 John Russell of Bluffdale, Illinois, who had been a professor at Alton Seminary in 1834, published a legend about the Piasa Bird which persists to the present day:

No part of the United States, not even the highlands of the Hudson, can vie, in wild and romantick scenery, with the bluffs of Illinois. On one side of the river, often at the water's edge, a perpendicular wall of rock rises to the height of some hundred feet. Generally on the opposite shore is a level bottom or prairie, of several miles in width, extending to a similar bluff that runs parallel with the river.

One of these ranges commences at Alton, and extends with few intervals for many miles along the left bank of the Illinois. In descending the river to Alton, the traveller will observe between that town and the mouth of the Illinois, a narrow ravine through which a small stream discharges its waters into the Mississippi. That stream is the Piasâ. Its name is Indian, and

¹⁴ John F. Snyder Papers (MSS in the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield).

signifies in the language of the Illini, "THE BIRD THAT DEVOURS MEN." Near the mouth of that stream, on the smooth and perpendicular face of the bluff, at an elevation which no human art can reach, is cut the figure of an enormous bird, with its wings extended. The bird which this figure represents was called by the Indians, the Piasâ, and from this is derived the name of the stream.

The tradition of the Piasâ is still current among all the tribes of the Upper Mississippi, and those who have inhabited the valley of the Illinois, and is briefly this: "Many thousand moons before the arrival of the pale faces, when the great magalonyx and mastodon, whose bones are now dug up, were still living in this land of the green prairies, there existed a bird of such dimensions that he could easily carry off, in his talons, a full grown deer. Having obtained a taste of human flesh, from that time he would prey upon nothing else. He was artful as he was powerful; would dart suddenly and unexpectedly upon an Indian, bear him off into one of the caves in the bluff, and devour him. Hundreds of warriors attempted for years to destroy him, but without success. Whole villages were nearly depopulated, and consternation spread through all the tribes of the Illini. At length, Ouatogâ, a chief, whose fame as a warrior extended even beyond the great lakes, separating himself from the rest of his tribe, fasted in solitude for the space of a whole moon, and prayed to the Great Spirit, the Master of life, that he would protect his children from the Piasâ. On the last night of the fast, the Great Spirit appeared to Ouatogâ in a dream, and directed him to select twenty of his warriors, each armed with a bow and a poisoned arrow, and conceal them in a designated spot. Near the place of their concealment, another warrior was to stand in open view, as a victim for the Piasâ, which they must shoot the instant that he pounced upon his prey. When the chief awoke in the morning, he thanked the Great Spirit, and returning to his tribe, told them his dream. The warriors were quickly selected and placed in ambush as directed. Ouatogâ offered himself as the victim. He was willing to die for his tribe. Placing himself in open view of the bluff, he soon saw the Piasâ perched on the cliff eyeing his prey. Ouatogâ drew up his manly form to its utmost height, and planting his feet firmly upon the earth, began to chant the death-song of a warrior. A moment after, the Piasâ rose into the air and, swift as the thunderbolt, darted down upon the chief. Scarcely had he reached his victim, when every bow was sprung, and every arrow sent, to the feather, into his body. The Piasâ uttered a wild, fearful scream, that resounded far over the opposite side of the river, and expired. Ouatogâ was safe. Not an arrow, nor even the talons of the bird, had touched him. The Master of life in admiration of the generous deed of Ouatogâ had held over him an invisible shield. In memory of this



From *Das Illustrierte Mississippthal* . . . (Dusseldorf, 1857)

HENRY LEWIS' PIASÂ, PAINTED ABOUT 1846 OR 1847

event, the image of the Piasâ was engraved on the face of the bluff. Such is the Indian tradition. Of course I do not vouch for its truth. This much, however, is certain; the figure of a large bird cut into the solid rock, is still there, and at a height that is perfectly inaccessible. How and for what purpose it was made, I leave for others to determine; even at this day, an Indian never passes that spot in his canoe without firing his gun at the figure of the bird. The marks of balls on the rock are almost innumerable.

Near the close of March of the present year, I was induced to visit the bluffs below the mouth of the Illinois and above that of the Piasâ. My curiosity was principally directed to the examination of a cave connected with the above traditions, as one of those to which the bird had carried its human victims. Preceded by an intelligent guide who carried a spade, I set out on my excursion. The cave was extremely difficult of access, and at one point of our progress I stood at an elevation of more than one hundred and fifty feet on the face of the bluff, with barely room to sustain one foot. The unbroken wall towered above me, while below was the river. After a long and perilous clambering we reached the cave which was about fifty feet above the surface of the river. By the aid of a long pole, placed on the projecting rock and the upper end touching the mouth of the cave, we suc-

ceeded in entering it. Nothing could be more impressive than the view from the entrance of this cavern. The Mississippi was rolling in silent grandeur beneath us: high over our heads a single cedar hung its branches over the cliff, on the blasted top of which was seated a bald eagle. No other sound or sign of life was near us. A sabbath stillness rested upon the scene. Not a cloud was in the heavens; not a breath of air was stirring. The broad Mississippi lay before us, calm and smooth, as a lake. The landscape presented the same wild aspect as it did before it had yet met the eye of the white man.

The roof of the cavern was vaulted, the top of which was hardly less than twenty-five feet in height. The shape of the cave was irregular, but so far as I could judge, the bottom would average twenty by thirty feet. The floor of this cave throughout its whole extent was a mass of human bones. Sculls and other bones were mingled together in the utmost confusion. To what depth they extended I am unable to decide, but we dug to the depth of three or four feet in every quarter of the cavern and still we found only bones. The remains of thousands must have been deposited here: How, and by whom, and for what purpose, it is impossible even to conjecture. J. R.¹⁵

Russell's story is full of the supernatural and its composition shows the flair of a novelist. He certainly never intended for this fanciful tale to be accepted as a historical article, but the reading public did just that. When questioned by William McAdams about the Piasa legend, Russell admitted that his story was "*somewhat illustrated*."¹⁶ And years later, his son, Spencer G. Russell, related to John F. Snyder that his father at one time confessed to him that the legend of the Piasa Bird was the product of imagination coupled with Marquette's account.¹⁷ But with the publication of Russell's article the legend grew and was retold. Writing from Alton on June 10, 1838, A. D. Jones declared:

There it was done, and stained with the fast and fadeless colors, whose

¹⁵ [John Russell], "The Piasâ: An Indian Tradition of Illinois," *The Family Magazine; or Monthly Abstract of General Knowledge*, Vol. IV (Aug., 1836), 101-102. This is the Boston edition; the Cincinnati edition carried the story in the Oct., 1836 number. Russell's article was reprinted in the *Alton Telegraph*, Sept. 28, 1836, and in the *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield, Ill.), Oct. 15, 1836. There is no doubt about Russell's being its author; he later reprinted it under his full name.

¹⁶ William McAdams, *Records of Ancient Races in the Mississippi Valley* (St. Louis, 1887), 5.

¹⁷ Snyder Papers.

subtle compounding the Indian only knows, and which remain plainly visible to the present day. . . . That such a monster ever existed, I cannot vouch—that its image is engraven upon the rock I know.¹⁸

Edmund Flagg, on a tour of the western country, claimed that he saw the Piasa Bird, but his account—complete with the description of the cave full of bones—is certainly taken directly from John Russell's story. Flagg concluded:

True or false, the figure of the bird, with expanded wings, graven upon the surface of solid rock, is still to be seen at a height perfectly inaccessible; and to this day no Indian glides beneath the spot in his canoe without discharging at this figure his gun.¹⁹

It is very doubtful that anyone actually saw the figures after 1698. Internal evidence points to the conclusion that they repeated, with their own flourishes, the legend told by John Russell. A similar tale of the Piasa was related by Lewis F. Thomas in 1841.²⁰ About five years later, George B. Douglas, who accompanied Henry Lewis on his painting trips, recorded in German his version of the figure: "Near the mouth of this small stream arises a vertical bluff, on whose flat surface, and at a height seemingly unreachable by human art, the figure of an enormous bird with outstretched wings is carved."²¹ However, the picture painted by Lewis is not that of a bird but of a dragon-like creature! Douglas probably wrote his description from the traditional story of the Piasa since Lewis painted one creature and the head of a second one, and Douglas described only one figure.

In 1844 an unidentified resident of Alton, who signed his article simply "L.," published this observation of the Piasa:

It is well known to all voyagers, on the Mississippi, that, on the face of the towering *bluffs*, near Alton, are portrayed some striking and unique

¹⁸ A. D. Jones, *Illinois and the West* (Boston, 1838), 58-60.

¹⁹ [Edmund Flagg], *The Far West: Or, a Tour Beyond the Mountains* (New York, 1838), I: 96.

²⁰ Lewis F. Thomas, ed., *The Valley of the Mississippi* (St. Louis, 1841), 71-73.

²¹ The translation is by the author from Henry Lewis, *Das Illustrierte Mississippithal, Dargestellt in 80 nach der Natur Ausgenommenen Ansichten von Wasserfalle zu St. Anthony an bis zum Golf von Mexico* (Dusseldorf, 1857), 273.

representations, seemingly the work of art, though in a rude, and imperfect state. The largest figure of this singular group, is of an oblong form and distorted proportions; and is believed by some to be the picture of a *monster* bird, of which there are no specimens extant, in natural history, nor any account, save in the vague traditions of the Indians.—This portrait has become faded, by exposure to the elements, and its outlines are but faintly perceived, unless closely examined. The color appears to have been of a dark vermilion hue; and its location is somewhat elevated above the now surface of the adjacent bank of the river.

Then "L." denounced John Russell's story of the Piasa Bird as a "gross fable" and proceeded to recount a legend which he claimed originated with the Potawatomi Indians instead of the Illini. The figure, he said, looked more like a hippopotamus with "branching horns" than any winged creature and was originally drawn on the cliff to celebrate the defeat of "an enormous monster, with spreading horns" who inhabited the Mississippi. The heroes of the legend are twins, Peasayah and Onecaw who were born of a virgin maid named Wacoulla. They defeat the monster with metal lances after which Peasayah skins it and traces its outline on the bluff.²² This legend is nearly as fanciful as John Russell's, however the observation of the figure seems to be more in keeping with Marquette's description since there is no mention of wings.

During the month of March, 1847, Rudolph Friederich Kurz, a Swiss artist from Bern, passed the bluffs near Alton and recorded in his journal that there was "an age-old, half-disintegrating hieroglyphic drawing of a colossal eagle" there. Kurz then referred to the traditional story of the Piasa Bird which he probably gleaned from John Russell's legend.²³

To confuse the issue further, Russell told an entirely different legend about the Piasa in 1847. This second account has remained buried in the newspaper which published it:

There is found inscribed on the precipitous face of a cliff, in a side

²² "L.," "The Manitou of the Piasa: An Indian Tradition," *Alton Telegraph & Democratic Review*, April 20, 27, 1844.

²³ J. N. B. Hewitt, ed., *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz* (Washington, 1937), 15-16.

gulf or gorge, in the Mississippi valley, near Alton, the figure of a gigantic bird, which is supposed to represent the condor. This figure is traced on a part of the cliff inaccessible to man, without resorting to some unusual means to reach such a height; and the wonder is how the simple natives who were ignorant of the use of the ladder, could reach such an eminence. Of this curious device, now obscured by time, the ancient Illinois has the following tradition:

Many years ago and long before the white man came to the continent, a huge and fierce bird lived in the Mississippi Valley. He made his nest on the cliffs of the mountains, and flew down into the plains and valleys, making a loud noise with his wings and carrying off children as well as whole animals, in his enormous claws. There appeared to be but one family of these great birds, but they increased so fast, and spread such terror among the tribes, that the Illinois were at their wits end what to do. But it was the great male or king of the nest, who caused the greatest alarm—every attempt to kill him had failed. He generally came at unexpected times, and flew off with his prey before they could come near enough to draw their arrows on him.

One night Alpeora, who had a child carried away by this terrific bird, dreamed that at such a time, their great enemy would alight on a certain cliff, and that if he prepared his bow and arrow well, he could kill him from the opposite side of the gorge; but if he failed, the dream went on to warn him, that the enraged bird would fly down and eat him up, and all his family. As soon as he awoke, he determined to venture his life on the attempt, and immediately began to prepare for it. He took the longest and heaviest bow he had, and carefully examined and re-adjusted its sinewy string, and prepared an arrow with a long and sharp dart of the choicest flint. He filled his quiver with a supply of other darts; he painted his visage as if for war; he then belted on his forest accoutrements; he took a stone hatchet, pointed at each end, and his heavy war club as if he were going into battle; he ornamented his head with the honored feathers of the war eagle, the proudest trophy of prowess known to the North American tribes. From his shoulder and back descended fringes of dressed deer skin, ornamented with shining plates of mica. His baldric or belt confined various articles essential to the chase. His leggings were trimmed with shells from distant sea-shores; and to the heel of each moccasin, there was attached by a string, the skin of a polecat—an animal, which conscious of its peculiar mode of defence, never runs from its pursuer; and hence is adopted by the tribes as an emblem of bravery.

Thus armed, Alpeora went out at the earliest glimpse of morning; and as he walked towards the defile of the gorge, which had been pictured to

his fancy in his dream, he recited his war song with all the fervor he could have used, had he been marching against a human foe.

While it was yet scarcely light enough to see, he concealed himself in a small clump of bushes, opposite the bald face of the cliff, where his dream told him the bird would alight. He waited with great impatience. He looked around to see that all his implements were in order; then took a small piece of root from his pouch, which is supposed to give courage to warriors, and put it in his mouth. The first dim and soft upshoots of light began to be visible in the east and foretold the rising sun; as he finished chewing the sacred stimulant, he saw the bird passing directly over his head towards the cliff.—He alighted within range of his arrow. For a moment, terror passed over his nerves. A gigantic figure with folded wings, which were ample enough to cover his entire lodge, sat before him. His claws and bills were enormous. His eyes glanced out fire. The very concussion of his wings upon the air, seemed like low pealing thunder.

But Alpeora rallied. In a few moments, he drew up his massive bow, and by the aid of his knee notched the string; and taking his choicest arrow, drew it up with all the strength and energy of a practiced hunter, and aiming it at the bird's heart, uttered the exclamation, *e-oh!* and cast his life on the issue. Success crowned the shot. The stillness and serenity of the air favored the passage of the arrow. A true aim and a desperate strength, united to the comparative shortness of the distance, gave him the victory. The bird fell bleeding and fluttering at the foot of the cliff; but before he would venture within the range of the expiring power, he despatched three additional arrows which completed his triumph. After this, the condor left the Mississippi valley, and has never since reappeared. Alpeora availed himself of the fallen pine and some bark ropes to ascend the face of the cliff, and draw the figure of his victory on a part of the rock quite out of common reach, so that his exploit might appear to his countrymen, and to all after times, the more wonderful.²⁴

Russell's first account claimed that the figure was still visible on the bluff, but in the second version he admitted that it was "now obscured by time." The Piasa Bird also became a giant "condor," and the hero changed from Ouatogá (who acted as the lure while twenty warriors shot the marauder) to another Illini named Alpeora who killed the bird single-handed. Such discrepancies brand Russell's stories as pure fiction.

²⁴ John Russell, "The Piasa Bird—An Illinois Legend," *Illinois Journal* (Springfield), Oct. 28, 1847.

Then in 1848 John Russell reverted to his original version and reprinted it in the *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate* of Utica, New York.²⁵ Somehow the public did not notice the wide difference in his two accounts, and only the first one was copied and retold by countless writers. Perhaps few read his second tale.

Although Spencer G. Russell, the son of John Russell, discredited the legend told by his father, he later claimed that he had seen the Piasa paintings in 1849 while a student at Shurtleff College.²⁶ He did not publish his observations, however, until 1883:

My recollection of it is of a picture cut into the surface of the rock to the depth of half an inch or more—had originally been painted red, black and blue, as portions of these colors were still adhering to the rock. The bird, or beast, . . . had the head of a bear, directly facing the river below; the mouth was open, plainly showing large disproportioned teeth. On its head were the unmistakable horns of an elk. The upper portions of the horns were red, while the lower portions, together with the head, were black. The body was that of a fish confusedly colored with all three colors; it also showed distinctly the marks of scales, resembling in their order those of a fish. The wings were expanded to the right and left of the face, as if in the act of taking flight, extending probably from sixteen to eighteen feet from point to point. The legs were those of a bear, armed with the talons of an eagle. The tail was wrapped three times around the body, twice back of the wings, once forward, terminating in the shape of a spear head. The most prominent features were the wings and head, the latter being covered by a long beard or mane. There was also one other remarkable fact, which has been noticed by all who were familiar with this picture, that at times it could be seen more distinctly than at others. When the atmosphere was damper than usual, the colors came out plainer; hence it may be inferred that as Marquette passed in June (one of our driest months) the wings were not visible.²⁷

Spencer Russell was the first writer to attempt to explain

²⁵ *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*, Vol. XIX (July 14, 1848), 224; reprinted in *Manford's Magazine*, Vol. XXXI (Feb., 1887), 75-76.

²⁶ Spencer G. Russell was graduated in 1853. *Semi-Centennial and General Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Shurtleff College for 50 years—1827-77* (Upper Alton, 1877), 24.

²⁷ Quoted in Tom English, "The Piasa Petroglyph: The Devourer from the Bluffs," *Art and Archaeology*, Vol. XIV (Sept., 1922), 152-53.

why Marquette had not seen the wings which somehow became associated with the painted monster. But Marquette reported that the figures were well painted, signifying that he could see the features clearly. It would seem that Spencer Russell was merely searching for an alibi to explain away the error made by the first artist who drew the Piasa, supposedly from Marquette's account. Spencer Russell may never have seen the actual paintings since it is claimed by some writers that the cliff was quarried away in 1846 and 1847.²⁸ Yet an unidentified report dated 1859 purports to give a contemporary description of some paintings along the Mississippi:

Near the mouth of the Piasa Creek, on the bluff, there is a smooth rock in a cavernous cleft, under an overhanging cliff, on whose face, 50 feet from the base, are painted some ancient pictures or hieroglyphics, of great interest to the curious. They are placed in a horizontal line from east to west, representing men, plants and animals. The paintings, though protected from dampness and storms, are in great part destroyed, marred by portions of the rock becoming detached and falling down.²⁹

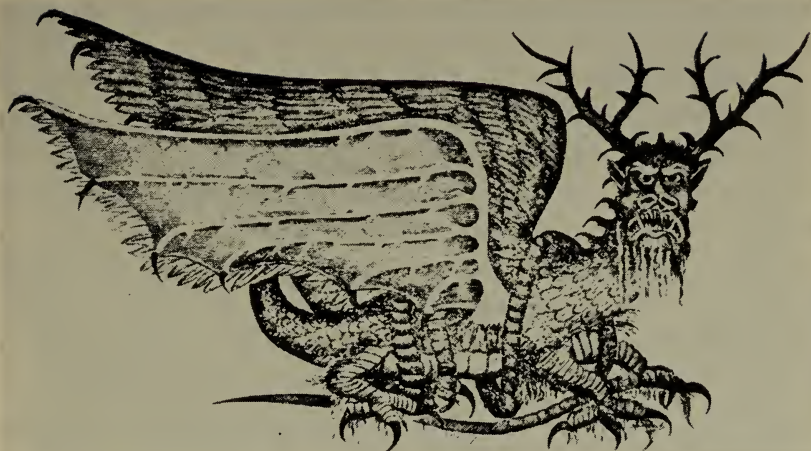
This description could easily have been of another set of Indian paintings near Alton. It is certain that by 1867 there was nothing remaining of the controversial Piasa painting. Francis Parkman, a competent observer and careful historian, passed by the bluff and recorded these facts: "The tradition of their existence remains, though* they are entirely effaced by time. In 1867, . . . a part of the rock had been quarried away, and, instead of Marquette's monsters, it bore a huge advertisement of 'Plantation Bitters.'"³⁰

In 1873, Martin Beem reported that there were still many persons living at Alton who "remember traces of the painting of the bird on the cliffs,—which time, the iconoclast, has now wholly destroyed." Beem then recounts his version of the legend which is very similar to the first story published by

²⁸ McAdams, *Records of Ancient Races in the Mississippi Valley*, 9.

²⁹ Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuvé, *A Complete History of Illinois from 1673 to 1873* (Springfield, 1874), 62n.

³⁰ Francis Parkman, *The Discovery of the Great West* (Boston, 1869), 59n.



THE SPENCER G. RUSSELL VERSION OF THE PIASA

John Russell. According to Beem, "the Ottow-wahs and the Illinois were allies, and Lin-cah-tello, 'the firm oak,' was their chief." "They were all happy," said Beem, "except Lin-cah-tello," who mourned the "mysterious loss of his only daughter, and the death of her lover, who flung himself over the cliffs, in a moment of despair." Then suddenly the Piasa Bird "came among them, and took up its home in a cave in the cliffs." It had the head and wings of an eagle, the tongue of an adder, and the tail of a dragon, "tipped with the sting of a scorpion." The Piasa's four legs were "human to the knees, and eagle the rest" of the way. This monster preyed upon the defenseless Indians until in desperation a council was called to discover a means of killing the beast. Lin-cah-tello said that "some one must be sacrificed, placed in a conspicuous position, and twenty-five warriors, with poisoned arrows, were to be secreted near, and fire at the bird when it came for its prey." On the appointed day, the chief himself stepped forward and announced that he was to be the human victim. As the Piasa swooped down upon the brave chief, the warriors killed the bird and the following day painted his image on

the bluffs, "a short distance above the spot where the distracted lover made his fatal leap."³¹

Beem's account differs from Russell's first legend in only a few points: the name of the chief is changed, the Ottawa are said to be members of the Illini confederacy, the number of warriors is increased, the legend of Lover's Leap is included and a close description of the Piasa is added.

In the Twentieth Century the Piasa Bird at Alton has been reproduced and restored several times. Herbert Forcade, an eighteen-year-old Boy Scout, executed the traditional version of the Piasa on the cliff and his troop presented the painting to the city on October 4, 1924; the formal dedication took place the following day.³² In 1935 I. H. Mawdsley, then a student at Shurtleff College, repainted the image after funds for the enterprise had been secured by John D. McAdams.³³ Again in 1938 Mawdsley restored his painting, using red and green instead of yellow which had predominated in 1935.³⁴ Then on September 12, 1952, Jack Buese and Eldon Grove once more began the task of reproducing the Piasa. Their painting is thirty by eighteen feet and was dedicated on October 12, 1952.³⁵ The legend has become a part of Illinois tradition, but the restorations seem to prove one thing: even with the best paints of modern science, nature soon erodes the figure from the bluff. Therefore, it is doubtful if the original could have been seen clearly after 1698 when St. Cosme observed it and remarked that it was then "almost effaced."

There is little fact to bolster any of the legends concerning the Piasa Bird. Jacob P. Dunn, who was an expert in the language of the Illini, stated that there was no such word as Piasa in their vocabulary and that the legend was not in

³¹ Martin Beem, "The Piasa-Bird: A Legend of the Illinois," *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), June 14, 1873.

³² *East St. Louis* (Ill.) *Journal*, Oct. 5, 1924; W. D. Armstrong, "Madison County Historical Society," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1928* (Springfield, 1928), 41.

³³ *Alton* (Ill.) *Evening Telegraph*, Aug. 27, 1935.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 1938.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, Oct. 13, 1952.

keeping with Indian folklore. However, there was a Kaskaskia chief named Paessa who was killed while fighting the Iroquois during the winter of 1680-1681.³⁶ Among the Sauk the name was also known; Black Hawk's father was called "Pyesa,"³⁷ and Thomas Hutchins' map of 1778 identifies the area where Alton now stands as "Piasas."

There is little doubt that there were, at one time, painted figures on the bluff at Alton, but Marquette's sketch of them is lost. The other drawings came centuries after Marquette and Jolliet observed the paintings. The best known one was published by William McAdams, who made no claim that it was drawn from the original figures on the bluff.³⁸ Although McAdams stated that it was drawn by William Dennis on April 3, 1825, Georgia McAdams Clifford, his daughter, recalled that her father made the drawing from Marquette's description.³⁹ The drawing made by Spencer G. Russell is merely McAdams' with the tail in a different position and without the fin at its extremity. The painting by Henry Lewis shows not a bird but rather a dragon-like monster. Not until John Russell published his tale of the Piasa Bird in 1836 was there any account of wings on the figure.

There is much confusion in the contemporary reports of the early missionaries who saw the figures; were they all observing the same picture? Since there is a report of another painting near Cape St. Anthony, perhaps some of the early observers were confused as to the site of Marquette's discovery. Regardless of where the figures were located, Marquette's report is certainly exaggerated. It is known that there were Indian paintings along the Mississippi River; in 1817 Major Stephen H. Long discovered a rock on the west bank of the

³⁶ Jacob P. Dunn, "Marquette's Monsters," *Americana*, Vol. XVII (Jan. 1923), 105; Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Français* (Paris, 1879), II: 142.

³⁷ Donald Jackson, ed., *Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak, Black Hawk: An Autobiography* (Urbana, Ill., 1955), 47.

³⁸ McAdams, *Records of Ancient Races in the Mississippi Valley*, 8.

³⁹ Georgia McAdams Clifford, *Indian Legends of the Piasa Country* (St. Louis, 1932), 19.

Mississippi nine miles above Prairie du Chien which had Indian paintings on it. "These figures," Long noted on July 21, "are painted on a cliff nearly perpendicular, at the height of about twenty-five feet from its base. Whenever the Indians pass this cliff they are in the habit of performing certain ceremonies." But according to Long, the paintings were more in the form of hieroglyphics than figures.⁴⁰

If Marquette did give vent to his imagination in describing the painting, the object which he probably had in mind was a figure which the French called "La Grande Goule." The first mention of La Grande Goule is as early as 1466, and this dragon-like creature was used in celebrations of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the three banners of the Sainte-Croix Monastery bore its picture and a statue of the monster was carried in the parades on the third day of Rogation. La Grande Goule was the guardian spirit of the monastery where Sainte-Radegonde had been killed. A wooden model of La Grande Goule, constructed in 1677, is preserved today in the Museum of Poitiers, France. It even has wings although Marquette did not record that the Piasa had wings.⁴¹

There is an element of the supernatural about Marquette's description of the Piasa which is European in character and not typical of the ideas held by American Indians. The qualities of the Piasa are similar to the Sphinx of Egypt or some of the Spanish statues. Marquette's monsters also may have been something similar to the wildcat pictograph or the Winnebago medicine animal.⁴²

If, as Father Douay reported, the figures were those of a horse, the Indians may have been recording their observations of the horses brought into the Southwest by the Spanish.

⁴⁰ Stephen H. Long, "Voyage in a Six-Oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony in 1817," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* (St. Paul, 1889), II: 51.

⁴¹ Henri Dontenville, *La Mythologie Française* (Paris, 1948), 146n.; *Les Dits et Récits de Mythologie Française* (Paris, 1950), 130, 135. Many thanks are due to Marc Sandoz, Conservateur of the Musées de Poitiers, for information regarding this subject.

⁴² Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History . . . of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1852-1853), I: 383; II: 224.



Photo courtesy Museum of Poitiers, France

WOODEN MODEL OF "LA GRANDE GOULE," MADE IN 1677

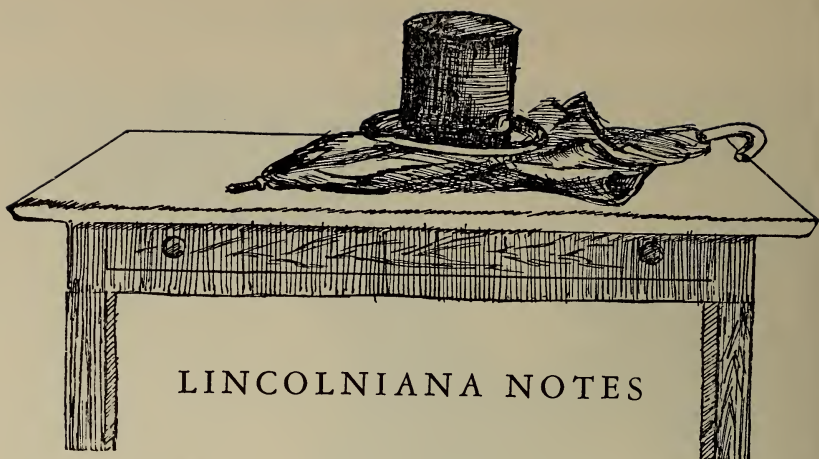
Or perhaps what Douay took to be a horse was actually a buffalo, deer, or other animal.

There are no other Indian drawings in southern Illinois which in any way correspond to the Piasa Bird.⁴³ Within recent years, however, Mr. Gregory Perino of Belleville discovered an Indian pot fragment which contains the outline of a figure with a forked tail.⁴⁴ This fragment is thought to belong to the Maples Mills corded-design type of pottery which may have been made between 600 and 1500 A. D.⁴⁵ Although the tail does not curve around the body as Marquette described the Piasa, there is a possibility that this is the animal which he observed painted on the cliff. What did Marquette actually see on the Alton bluff in 1673? Certainly it was not the dragon-like figure which has come to be known as the Piasa Bird.

⁴³ Irvin Peithman, "Pictographs and Petroglyphs in Southern Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Archaeological Society*, Vol. II (Apr., 1952), 91-94.

⁴⁴ Virginia S. Eifert, "The Piasa Bird in Pottery?" *The Living Museum*, Vol. XV (Sept., 1953), 411 ff.

⁴⁵ Fay-Cooper Cole and Thorne Deuel, *Rediscovering Illinois* (Chicago, 1937), 48.



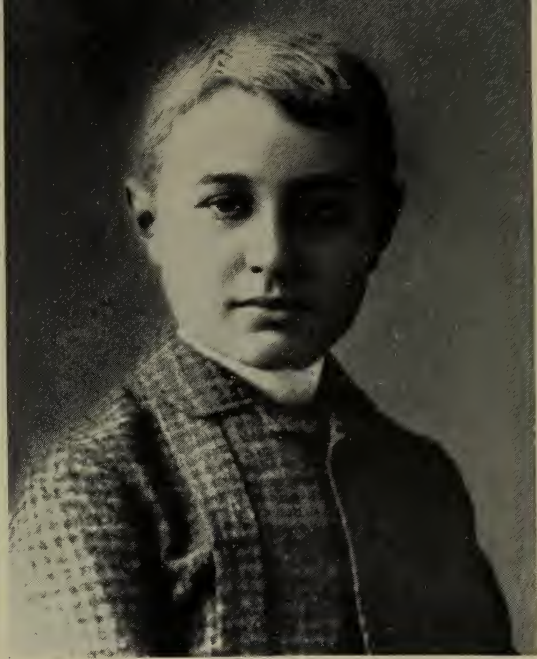
PHOTOGRAPH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN II

Framed photographs of Robert Todd Lincoln and his son, Abraham Lincoln II ("Jack"), recently have been placed in the Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library. Robert gave these pictures to his cousin, Mary Edwards Brown, one-time custodian of the Lincoln Home. Mrs. Brown said the one of Robert was his favorite picture of himself. The photograph of Jack was taken when he was about fourteen and was the last one made of him. So far as is known it has never been published before.

Jack was Robert Todd Lincoln's second child and was born in Chicago, August 14, 1873. He was a thoughtful, studious lad, and it was hoped that he might carry on the name and fame of his grandfather. Jack accompanied his father and family when they went to England in May, 1889, where Robert Todd Lincoln was to be Minister to the Court of St. James's. That fall Jack went to Versailles to learn French. He had not been there long when a carbuncle which developed under his left arm led to blood poisoning and pleurisy. The doctors decided to remove him to London in January but he had a relapse, the infection spread, and on March 5, 1890, he died—aged sixteen and one-half years.



ROBERT TODD LINCOLN



ABRAHAM LINCOLN II ("JACK")

These photographs of Abraham Lincoln's oldest son and only grandson are on display in the Lincoln Room of the Historical Library. The one of Jack probably has never been published before.

Dr. Milton H. Shutes says in his article "Mortality of the Five Lincoln Boys" (*Lincoln Herald*, Spring-Summer, 1955):

He died in the early dawn which followed the dark ages of medical knowledge; he may have survived with recent antibiotics and present attitude toward what is known in the profession as "meddlesome surgery." But for his day he received the very best of medical therapy.

Jack's body was brought to this country and buried in the Lincoln Tomb in Springfield. After forty years, on May 25, 1930, it was moved to the side of his father, Robert Todd Lincoln, in Arlington Cemetery, near Washington, D.C.

LINCOLN CARRIES LAKE FORK PRECINCT

Hawkins Taylor, a "confidential friend" of Abraham Lincoln, was born in Kentucky on November 15, 1811. In 1832 he came to Sangamon County, Illinois after several months in Hannibal, Missouri and some time in Galena, Illinois. During the winter of 1832-1833 he says, "I determined

to make a farm and settle near Irish Grove, then in Sangamon County, and now in Logan County." By 1836 he had moved to Iowa, finally settling in Keokuk. He served in the Iowa House of Representatives, was a prominent Republican, and an ardent supporter of Lincoln.

On April 8, 1860, James F. Babcock of Connecticut, editor of the *New Haven Palladium*, wrote to Lincoln asking for names of Republican leaders "who are your confidential friends, to whom I can write." Lincoln replied on April 14 and gave him eleven names. "Hawkins Taylor, Esq. Keokuk, Iowa," is the last name on the list.

Taylor's reminiscences, from which this extract on the voting in Lake Fork precinct is taken, are published in a book by Emma Siggins White, *Genealogy of the Descendants of John Walker of Wigton, Scotland, with Records of a Few Allied Families*. . . . ([Kansas City, Mo.] Press of Tiernan-Dart Printing Company, 1902), 422-44:

I married in the spring of 1834, built me a log home, and commenced housekeeping. I had a prairie team and broke prairie and farmed my land by turns. The election of Illinois at that time was on the first Monday in August. I lived near Salem where Mr. Lincoln lived and was greatly attached to him, and on the morning of the election I started at sunrise for the election precinct on Lake Fork, eighteen miles distant. The road was a mere bridle path most of the way, up the bottom of Salt Creek. The prairie grass was higher than I was on my pony, and the result was that I was wet to the skin most of the way. The whole people in that part of Illinois were for Jackson. It was before Canada [Ebenezer] Peck¹ and Stephen A. Douglas had inaugurated the caucus system in the state. Candidates ran on their personal popularity. Sangamon County embraced the present counties of Logan, Menard, Christian and a large part of Dewitt and Cass.² The county was entitled to four members in the Legislature, and there were over twenty candidates in

¹ Ebenezer Peck was born in Maine in 1805 and admitted to the bar in Canada in 1827. Twice elected to the Provincial Parliament, he was made King's Counsel in 1833. He came to Illinois in 1835 and settled in Chicago. He served in the State House and Senate and was Reporter of Supreme Court decisions. Lincoln appointed him a member of the Court of Claims at Washington.

² In 1834, Sangamon County included the present county of Menard and parts of Mason, Logan, and Christian counties.

the field wanting the office, all running independent of party.³ There was a little junta in Springfield that assumed to run the Jackson party in the county.

The junta had sent out, to every precinct in the county, tickets having four names on them as the true representatives of Jacksonism. These tickets were sent to Lake Fork precinct, but they disappeared before the polls were opened, and, while all the voters were strangers to me, I soon made myself known and useful. There was a supply of blank tickets, and I filled up one hundred and eight of the one hundred and eleven votes polled, and I got Mr. Lincoln's name on each ticket that I filled up. Not one of the voters had ever seen Mr. Lincoln, and few of them had ever heard of him. I let each man name whom he pleased for Governor and the other state officers, but not one of them could name four members for the Legislature, and then I would get in Mr. Lincoln's name. Mr. Lincoln had made no canvass of the county, as he had no horse to ride and no money, but he had in almost all the precincts of the county, friends that he had made as a soldier in the Black Hawk war of 1832, who took an interest in him at the polls, and the result was that he led the ticket in the county by several hundred votes.⁴ This was his first election to office.

DR. LOUIS A. WARREN RETIRES

The retirement on July 1 of Dr. Louis A. Warren as director of the Lincoln National Life Foundation has been announced by Walter O. Menge, president of the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company. Dr. Warren, born in Massachusetts in 1885, became editor of the *La Rue County Herald* at Hodgenville, Kentucky, in 1918 after graduation from Transylvania University. He has been director of the Lincoln National Life Foundation since 1928. He is the author of *Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood* (1926), *Slavery Atmosphere of Lincoln's Youth* (1933), *Little Known Lincoln Episodes* (1934), *Abraham Lincoln, a Concise Biography*

³ There were actually thirteen candidates running for Representative to the Ninth General Assembly.

⁴ The four elected to the state legislature from Sangamon County in 1834 were: John Dawson (1390); Abraham Lincoln (1376); William Carpenter (1170); and John T. Stuart (1164). In New Salem precinct Lincoln received 250 out of 288 votes cast. That was 71 votes more than John Dawson who polled the next largest number. In 1836 when Lincoln ran for re-election he polled the largest vote of all the Sangamon candidates. *Bulletin of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, No. 36 (Sept., 1934), 6-7.

(1934), *Lincoln Bibliography Check List* (1942) and *Indiana's Contribution to Abraham Lincoln* (1944). He has also edited the Foundation's periodical *Lincoln Lore* since its beginning in 1929. He was awarded an honorary Doctor of Literature degree by Lincoln Memorial University in 1929 and a citation for notable contributions to history by Transylvania in 1954. He will become director emeritus of the Foundation.

Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, named as Warren's successor, was born at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, in 1906. After graduation from Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, he joined the Foundation in 1931. In 1937 he became head of the department of Lincolniana at Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, and editor of its quarterly periodical, the *Lincoln Herald*. He received an honorary degree from Centre College in 1953.

The Lincoln National Life Foundation at Fort Wayne, Indiana, with more than 190,000 items of Lincolniana—books, autographs, manuscripts, pictures, etc.—has one of the largest collections in the country.

JESSIE LINCOLN STUDIES IN IOWA

In an old scrapbook which the Historical Library received recently from Miss Mabel S. Fisher of Illiopolis is pasted this tiny item of interest to Lincoln students:

Miss Jessie Harlan Lincoln, the daughter of Robert T. Lincoln, American minister to England, has entered the Iowa Wesleyan university in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, and will take the classical course.

No date or source is attached to this clipping but the item is probably news to most Lincoln scholars.

Robert Todd Lincoln's wife was the former Mary Harlan, daughter of James Harlan, Senator from Iowa during Lincoln's first term. The Senator was a loyal supporter of Lincoln's policies and a good friend of the President. At the beginning

of Abraham Lincoln's second term Harlan became Secretary of the Interior. He had been president of Iowa Wesleyan at Mount Pleasant from 1853 to 1855.

The Robert Todd Lincolns had three children: Mary (1869-1938) who became Mrs. Charles Isham; Abraham II "Jack" (1873-1890) and Jessie (1875-1948). Jessie, who took "the classical course" at Iowa Wesleyan according to this clipping, eloped with Warren Beckwith in 1897. Beckwith was on the Iowa Wesleyan football team.

Jessie's parents did not approve of this marriage but it lasted for ten years and the Beckwiths had two children: Mary Lincoln Beckwith and Robert Lincoln Beckwith, both living. One other direct descendant of Abraham Lincoln is still living, Lincoln Isham, the son of Mary Lincoln and Charles Isham.

"LAST PAIR OF GLOVES A. LINCOLN WORE"

A pair of white kid gloves, identified as the "Last pair of gloves A. Lincoln wore. Were found in his pocket after the murder" recently were presented to the Illinois State Historical Library along with twelve letters by Mary Todd Lincoln, seven by her sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, and sixty-six by Illinois Senator David J. Baker, Sr.

This collection constituted the major part of the Baker-Edwards family papers and mementoes which were given to the Library by Philip R. Baker of Pasadena, California. He is a retired United States Navy Commander, a great-grand-nephew of Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln, and a great-great-grandson of Ninian Edwards and also of Senator Baker.

The identification of the gloves is written in ink and signed "E. L. Baker, Jr." on the back of his business card as city editor of the *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield. He was Commander Baker's father and Mrs. Lincoln's favorite grand-nephew—because he reminded her of her sons Willie and Tad. The dozen letters by Mrs. Lincoln were addressed to

him as "Dear Lewis." The earliest of these was written in Havre, France, on October 17, 1876 and the last in New York on Grand Central Hotel stationery and dated March 21, 1882. In this final letter she asked Lewis to take care of an invalid's chair and some medicine she was sending. Soon afterward Mrs. Lincoln returned to Springfield where she died the following July 16 at the home of her sister, Mrs. Edwards.

Letters by Mrs. Edwards are very rare and the seven in this collection were written during March and April, 1862, from the White House where she had gone to be with her sister following the death of Willie Lincoln. Six of the letters are addressed to her daughter, Julia Edwards Baker, and the seventh is to Edward Lewis Baker, Sr., Julia's husband—grandparents of Commander Baker.

David J. Baker, Sr., was appointed to the United States Senate by Governor Ninian Edwards following the death of John McLean. His term lasted from November 12 to December 11, 1830 when the legislature elected John M. Robinson. Baker left Kaskaskia on November 17 and arrived in Washington early in December. The winter of 1830-1831 was famous as the season of the "Deep Snow" in Illinois but Baker avoided it by staying in Washington until the following February. The sixty-six letters by him in this collection were written to his wife while he was away from Kaskaskia.

LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES STAMP PROPOSED

The issuance of a United States postage stamp or series of stamps in 1958 to commemorate the centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates was proposed in a resolution adopted by members of the Illinois State Historical Society at their meeting on October 12. The resolution states in part that the "Debates stand as a significant historical landmark to all the people of Illinois," and "urges the senators and representatives in Congress from the State of Illinois to take whatever steps

may be necessary so that a stamp or series of stamps . . . may be issued in 1958." It was pointed out that the Debates cities of Ottawa, Galesburg, Freeport, Quincy, Alton, Jonesboro and Charleston should be particularly interested in this project—as well as the hosts of Lincoln collectors and philatelists.

"THE CHICAGO LINCOLN" STATUE DEDICATED

Governor William G. Stratton was the principal speaker at the unveiling on October 20 of Illinois' newest Lincoln statue, at Lincoln Square on Chicago's Northwest Side—the intersection of Lincoln, Lawrence and Western avenues. Other speakers on the dedication program included State Historian Clyde C. Walton and Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago.

The statue, "The Chicago Lincoln," an eight-foot bronze figure, on a four-and-one-half foot base, is the work of Sculptor Avard Fairbanks of the University of Utah, who also executed the Lincoln statue at New Salem State Park, which was unveiled in 1954.

The dedication was the culmination of five years of effort by a number of civic, business and political leaders of the area which began with a proposal in 1951 by John J. Hoellen, alderman of the Forty-seventh Ward. The General Assembly passed a bill on March 10, 1953 estab-



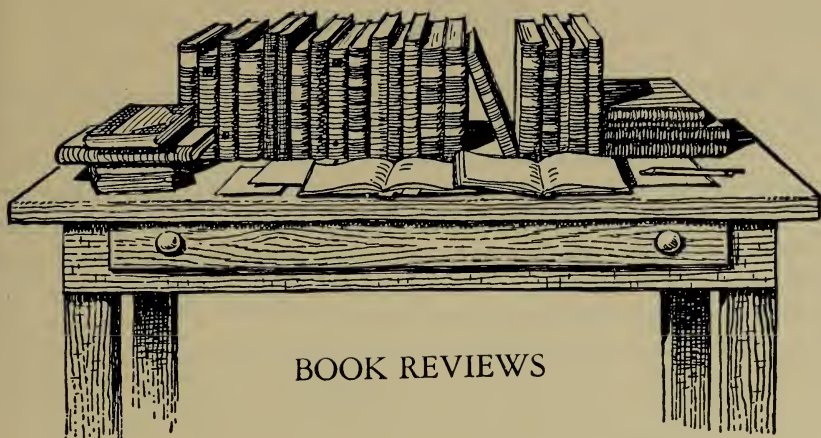
Photo courtesy Myers Publishing Co., Chicago

"THE CHICAGO LINCOLN"

lishing the Lincoln Memorial Commission, to which Governor Stratton appointed Leo A. Lerner, editor and publisher of the Chicago North Side Newspapers, State Senator Peter J. Miller and State Representative William E. Pollack. This group, on January 21, 1954, chose Henry Spellbrink, president of the Commercial National Bank, as executive secretary and named the following to its Advisory Committee: Alderman Hoellen, Herbert Heidkamp, George Brumlik, George Pfaff, Edward O. Fahner, Charles Gutsell, Nathan Rattner, Lloyd Miller, Charles McPartlin, Frank Jerger, Sr., Ralph G. Newman and Michael Lerner.

The Commission selected the site for the memorial and, with the Advisory Committee, arranged for a contest to choose the design—with \$1,000 in awards provided by the Lincoln Square Chamber of Commerce. The winner of the \$500 top award was Lloyd Ostendorf, Dayton, Ohio, free-lance artist and Lincoln enthusiast, who had seen the announcement in this *Journal*. (See Summer, 1955 *Journal*, pp. 200-201.)

When the design and other plans were presented the legislature, at its 1955 session, appropriated \$35,000 for the project. As originally conceived the statue was to be a figure of a beardless Lincoln as he appeared in the courtrooms and on the platforms of Chicago before 1860—a standing figure with a sheaf of papers and a high hat in his left hand at his side and the right hand outstretched. This was changed in the final work to place a podium at his right with the right hand resting on it.



Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War. Vol. IV. By Kenneth P. Williams. (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1956. Pp. 616. \$7.50.)

In this, the fourth volume of Professor Williams' epic treatment of the War Between the States, the focus is upon Lincoln's Achilles, General Grant, and we see him as he emerges from the campaigns from Iuka to Vicksburg to become *the* Union general. Here is perhaps the most interesting aspect of Professor Williams' work, his candid appraisal of personalities. There is no doubt about the author's opinion of Grant, as there is no doubt about his opinions of other generals, Sherman, Buell, Rosecrans, McClelland, Kirby-Smith, or Bragg. While Grant and Sherman are becoming heroes, Rosecrans and McClelland emerge as villains. The reader finds "Rosey" vain, unreliable, but somehow appealingly romantic. It is not so with McClelland, who is portrayed as not only vain and unreliable, but insubordinate and envious as well. For the timid Buell, one feels only impatience. All this provides effectively for the contrast with Grant and Sherman: "Grant *is* Vicksburg," but he awaits supplies and "the eager red-haired Sherman."

Professor Williams always has a sharp eye for drama and quotes judiciously to give his readers the flavor of the conflict. "The city of Memphis has more iniquity in it than any other place since Sodom," says Hurlbut; and the treatment of the exchange of notes between General Earl Van Dorn and Colonel William H. Morgan at Davis' Mill has the deft touch of a master storyteller.

Logistics are, of course, important to Williams' interpretation of every action, but he considers and weighs other problems, too. Especially inter-

esting is the way he has called attention to the problem of contrabands and that (particularly as Sherman saw it) of representatives of the press.

In such a vast work as *Lincoln Finds a General* a major difficulty involves pulling all the details together to form a coherent single picture. Professor Williams manages this problem of organization by giving the reader frequent references to Halleck and Lincoln, who would see the picture of the fighting in the West all in one piece and as it related to the fighting in the East. Mainly, this is done through quoting dispatches and letters that passed back and forth between the Commander in Chief and the generals in the field. The references to Lincoln have much the same effect. However, more attention to this problem would be advantageous, for the reader occasionally feels a need for the orientation which summaries can provide.

Lincoln Memorial University

W. E. TAYLOR

So Fell the Angels. By Thomas Graham Belden and Martha Robins Belden. (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1956. Pp. 401. \$5.00.)

Shakespeare provided the title for this book with Cardinal Wolsey's admonition to Cromwell, in *Henry VIII*, Act III, Scene 2:

"I charge thee, fling away ambition:
By that sin fell the angels."

Abraham Lincoln had a more tolerant attitude in his famous letter to Major General Joseph Hooker when he said, "You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm." But *So Fell the Angels* is a story of ambition beyond all "reasonable bounds." It is a biography of three persons: Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury and later Chief Justice, his daughter Kate Chase Sprague, and her multimillionaire husband, William Sprague, Governor of Rhode Island, military hero (in his own eyes at least), and United States Senator.

Chase wanted to be President. Lincoln knew it and said of him, "He is a very ambitious man and I think on the subject of the Presidency a little insane." If Chase was a "little insane" on the subject, his daughter was a maniac. The Presidency for her father was the lodestar of her life. To have money to finance her ambitious plans she married (at least so one gathers from this book) William Sprague, reputed to be worth \$25,000,000. At any rate theirs was no marriage of love and after nearly twenty stormy, extravagant years and four children (at least one of which was Sprague's) the legal union ended in divorce.

Nor is there much to admire in William Sprague, wealthy and ambitious for more. He was involved in the Texas Adventure, a treasonable enterprise

that included selling arms to the Confederacy and trading in cotton. He became dissolute, disillusioned, bitter and suspicious. But he had the gift of longevity and outlived the other principals in this story by many years. Sprague died in Paris, France, September 11, 1915, one day short of his eighty-fifth birthday. His divorced wife, Kate, had died in poverty at the age of fifty-nine, reduced to selling vegetables and eggs for a living. Willie, their son, committed suicide in a cheap boarding house in Seattle at the age of twenty-five. Beside his bed was a letter to his father that ended in mid-sentence: "I cannot tell how I long for affection, that I never experienced, and cannot describe, yet long for . . ."

Marva and Thomas Graham Belden may have been a bit hard on their characters but Lord Charnwood had said earlier that Chase, a "handsome, dignified and righteous person was unhappily a sneak." At the same time, and possibly unwittingly, the authors may have added something to Lincoln's stature, for he stands out from the array of mean, calculating characters in which the book abounds as a man of amazing sagacity and magnanimity. These authors have a sense of the dramatic and a flair for writing that makes their book one a reader does not want to lay down once it is started. This husband and wife team (they were married in 1951) is one from which more will be heard.

S. A. W.

Lincoln's Fifth Wheel: The Political History of the United States Sanitary Commission. By William Q. Maxwell. (Longmans, Green & Co.: New York, 1956. Pp. 372. \$5.00.)

For the first time since 1866 a major work on the United States Sanitary Commission has appeared in print. The Commission was a Northern philanthropic organization which rendered aid to the Union soldier—and in much smaller measure to the Confederates—in the form of personal services and supplies. It was organized in 1861 and continued in existence until after the Civil War. While its primary concern was the health of the volunteer soldier, it also sought to channel civilian aid into a systematic program thereby eliminating waste and duplication. As the war dragged on and the medical services of the army improved, the supply and relief work of the Commission tended to crowd the more prosaic sanitary endeavors from the center of public attention.

This civilian group contributed heavily to Northern success with its multiple activities: the collection of \$15,000,000 worth of supplies and \$5,000,000 in cash through systematic labors and the spectacular Sanitary Fairs; the donation of \$5,000,000 in gratuitous services from its members;

the awakening of a lethargic and short-sighted Medical Department into sanitary progress; and bolstering up civilians and returned soldiers on the home front though a hospital directory, soldiers' homes, newspapers, and a pension and claims agency. Its impact on the Civil War generation was undoubtedly tremendous; but in the years that followed the War, a great mass of literature concerned primarily with wartime soldiers and politicians poured forth, dimming the Commission's temporary luster and prominence. Dr. Maxwell's painstaking and scholarly efforts will enhance the Commission's prestige once more.

To this reviewer who has worked to some extent in the Sanitary Commission Archives in the New York Public Library, there is an immediate appreciation of Dr. Maxwell's work. For a good bit of that source material is in very bad shape—dirty, difficult to handle, and in tremendous bulk. To plow through the Archives is a monumental achievement in itself; and to weave the threads of that labor into a readable story deserves the professional plaudits which the author is now receiving.

There is a big story to tell here as the Sanitary Commission was a large concern. Dr. Maxwell has chosen to stick to its main development with a glance or two down some of the by-paths. Untold in any detailed fashion are the operations of its many branches, the work with prisoners of war, and the Sanitary Fairs which convulsed the Midwest and East during the latter stages of the War and absorbed much of the energy expended by the civilian population for the Union soldier. On page 226 he states that the Fairs raised a total of \$2,738,868.84. This figure was, however, the amount received by the central treasury of the Commission and not the total amount raised. The latter figure would be closer to \$4,000,000. It was a common practice for the local sponsoring agencies to retain a portion of the proceeds rather than relinquish all to the central treasury.

In view of the complexity of its work, one feels that had the organization of the Commission been presented earlier in the book—it is given in clear, concise form in the "Conclusion"—the reader would have had a better grasp of the Sanitary Commission's myriad activities.

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

WILLIAM Y. THOMPSON

LaFollette and the Rise of the Progressives in Wisconsin. By Robert S. Maxwell. (State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1956. Pp. xii, 271. \$4.50.)

This long needed, scholarly study of the Progressive movement in the Badger State covers the period from "Fighting Bob's" first gubernatorial campaign in 1900 to the initial eclipse of the Progressive forces in 1914 that

followed their disastrous division in the preceding presidential contest. The most lively chapters are those describing how La Follette, a bitter opponent of the regular Republican organization during the 1890's, built up while governor his own highly efficient machine which routed the party stalwarts for a decade. Before he moved to the United States Senate in 1906 the Progressive-dominated legislature enacted his major reform proposals—the direct primary, ad valorem taxation of railroads plus a regulatory commission, and a civil service system.

During the next five years the Progressives pushed through the legislature an even broader array of economic and social reforms, overhauling the tax system, regulating public service and insurance companies, and affording protection to labor. (The Wisconsin Supreme Court nullified attempts to prevent private monopoly of water-power sites and to finance reforestation with state funds.) Maxwell carefully indicates the reciprocal effects of Progressivism on state and national levels. There is a fine chapter on the singularly pervasive influence of the University of Wisconsin, from whose faculty the politicians obtained information, ideas, and expert personnel to man the commissions that administered (and frequently developed) the major parts of the Progressive program. Wisconsin Progressivism was indeed founded on "a union of soil, shop, and seminar."

Maxwell's research has been thorough; his account is concise and well organized; his judgments of men and measures are soundly balanced. The informative footnotes are inconveniently located at the back of the book, which otherwise is neatly designed and well made. Among the illustrations are photographs of more than a dozen political figures and four scholars whose work was of enduring consequence nationally. The bibliography is extensive, the index adequate. The volume is a solid contribution to a better understanding of the Progressive period.

Wisconsin State College, Stevens Point

ELWIN W. SIGMUND

Readings in Indiana History. Compiled by Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy Riker. (Indiana Historical Bureau [Collections, Vol. XXXVI]: Indianapolis, 1956. Pp. 625. \$2.00, paper; \$4.50, cloth.)

The compilers have produced a comprehensive history of Indiana, beginning with the advent of the most primitive Indian cultures and extending through World War II, all illustrated by suitable quotations from authoritative writers. The majority of the writers are Hoosiers—as why not, in a state where hands have always been about as frequently bent to the pen as to the plow?

If there is a criticism it might be that both the prehistoric period (five pages) and the Twentieth Century (thirty-nine pages) have received some-

what less attention than their importance merits. However this may be as well, in factual narration, since a good deal of fancy would necessarily enter a longer discussion of the first, and the second may still be a bit too close to us for satisfactory analysis.

In between, the book is a treasury of fact, a good deal of it colorful, and many of the sources quoted are reasonably available for further study. It should be of great assistance to the student and of interest to the casual reader as well.

Crawfordsville, Indiana

R. E. BANTA

The Founding of Public Education in Wisconsin. By Lloyd P. Jorgenson. (State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1956. Pp. 252. \$4.00.)

In the days when Wisconsin was a part of Michigan Territory the place of the school in the development of an acceptable social structure was not always agreed upon, and the free school system had its share of champions and degraders. Jean Nicolet landed at Green Bay in 1634, which was 183 years before schools were conducted fairly regularly in the same community.

"Education in a Fur-Trading Society" (Chapter 1) portrays a period of simple needs and how those needs were simply satisfied. The growth of the territory, the necessity for a constitution and for a tax structure, and the beginnings of an educational philosophy indicate how complex the educational function would become.

The attitudes toward taxes, and diverse educational ideologies, the impact of a panic and a war, the influx of immigrants and language barriers—all affected the growth rate of the school system in the forty-six years between 1817 and 1863. The author closes the book with an excerpt from the 1863 report of the state superintendent, and adds, "The young school system of Wisconsin had safely weathered its first storm."

Dr. Jorgenson has stayed close to the chronological sequence of events, interspersing accounts of legislative action with brief anecdotes about the legislators and educators as they affected each other, for better or worse. He has provided a well-documented account of his subject, in a book that will give satisfaction to the educator seeking content information and to the historian seeking references.

This volume might well be followed by another, continuing the time sequence and bringing the story up to date. The many forces which affected the early growth of public education could be traced in relation to the development of the realistic vocational education program which puts Wisconsin into a leading position in national educational circles.

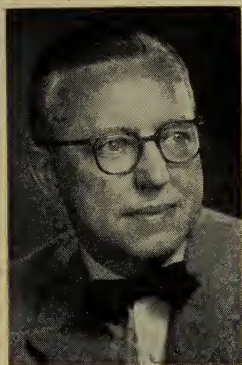
Springfield

ROBERT F. KOZELKA



FRANCIS ELECTED AT ANNUAL MEETING

Ralph E. Francis, Kankakee financier and civic leader, was elected president of the Illinois State Historical Society for the 1956-1957 term at the annual meeting held in Chicago. The new President was a director of the Society in 1951-1953 and a vice-president in 1953-1954 and 1955-1956. He was president of the Kankakee County Historical Society from 1947 to 1954 and is still a director of that organization. During his presidency the Kankakee County Historical Society Museum was built and he originated and established the Kankakee Junior Historian.



RALPH E. FRANCIS

New directors of the State Society elected for the 1956-1959 term are: Fred D. Evers, Elmhurst; Mrs. William Henry, Jr., Cambridge; Mrs. Foreman M. Lebold, Chicago; William A. Pitkin, Carbondale; and Glenn H. Seymour, Charleston. Alexander Summers of Mattoon was named senior vice-president and the following were elected vice-presidents for the year: Mrs. Ernest W. Davies, Danville; David Davis, IV, Bloomington; George Irwin, Quincy; Herman G. Nelson, Rockford; and Philip D. Sang, River Forest. State Historian Clyde C. Walton was named secretary-treasurer.

During the two days of the meeting (October 12 and 13) members of the State Historical Society heard ten speakers, in addition to their officers and tour guides, had a dinner and two luncheons together, toured fifty-two miles about the city and accumulated seven pounds, ten ounces of background literature.

As one of its many activities throughout the year in celebration of its centennial the Chicago Historical Society was host to the meeting of the State Society at its handsome present-day building at the corner of North Avenue and Clark Street. A total of 219 members and their guests were registered at this headquarters beginning Friday morning. First speaker on the two-day program, arranged by Co-chairman Elmer E. Abrahamson and John G. Oien, was Mayor Richard J. Daley who welcomed the group to the city. He was followed by Dr. Lloyd A. Brown, associate director of the Chicago Society, with an invitation to use that Society's facilities. The morning session was concluded with the introduction of State Historian Walton by State Society President John W. Allen.

When it was learned that the Red Star Inn was not large enough to accommodate the anticipated attendance the luncheon was transferred to the Swedish Club, 1258 North LaSalle Street, where a large double smorgasbord table had been set up. There the dining room was filled and the ticket taker's table had to be used for half a dozen late arrivals of the 178 attending.

Emmett Dedmon, author and assistant managing editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the luncheon speaker, recited some of his experiences in writing *Fabulous Chicago*, in his "Confessions of a Parttime Historian." Following lunch the group returned to the Chicago Society auditorium where Sarajane Wells, education director, told of that Society's work with children, and a series of slides on the French in Illinois was shown.

At the annual business meeting that followed the new directors, named by the nominating committee headed by Dr. Clarence P. McClelland of Jacksonville, were elected by acclamation. The report of the secretary-treasurer was given by Walton, and those of the membership and publications committees by William A. Pitkin and James T. Hickey respectively. A resolution, introduced by Alexander Summers and adopted unanimously, thanked Mrs. Marion D. Pratt for ably administering the affairs of the Society from the time of Dr. Harry E. Pratt's death in February until the meeting date.

At the annual dinner attendance was again larger than could be accommodated and extra tables were set up in the middle of the Swedish Club's dining room. Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor and author, talked entertainingly on "A Half-Century of Medical Progress." The directors met after the dinner and elected the new president, vice-presidents and secretary-treasurer.

Saturday's historical-lecture bus tour began at the Plaza Hotel at 8:30 A.M. and wound up at the new forty-one story Prudential Building seven hours and fifty-two miles later. The route followed was north along the lake shore through Evanston and by Northwestern University to Wilmette where the first stop was made at the famous Baha'i House of Worship. The

three busses then turned back south through Evanston's Fountain Square and down Ridge Avenue to the Outer Drive and the beautiful Elks' War Memorial for the second stop. From there the lake shore route was followed to the Stephen A. Douglas Tomb at the eastern end of Thirty-fifth Street where the group was met by Chicago Police Commissioner Timothy J. O'Connor who talked briefly about the Monument which was designed by Leonard W. Volk. From there the route led down by the University of Chicago to the Confederate Mound in Oak Woods Cemetery on East Sixty-seventh Street where six thousand Confederate prisoners who died at Camp Douglas are buried. There Commissioner O'Connor spoke again, taking much of his text from *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley* of Stanley-and-Livingstone fame. As a young man Stanley had been a prisoner at the camp.

The busses then returned—with a brief stop at Lorado Taft's Fountain of Time statue on the Midway—to International House on the University of Chicago campus, for luncheon. Following the luncheon Dr. Robert M. Strozier, the University's Dean of Students, spoke briefly, extending an invitation to future visits to the campus and greetings from the Historical Society of Woodlawn. The tour was then resumed with a ride downtown to the Prudential Building where the busses were dismissed.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S 1957 MEETINGS

The annual Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society will be held on May 3 and 4, 1957, at Macomb where the group will be the guests of the McDonough County Historical Society. The Annual Meeting will be on October 11 and 12 at Normal where the Society will participate in a part of the celebration of the centennial of Illinois State Normal University.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1856-1956

The Chicago Historical Society was organized on April 24, 1856 in the office of J. Young Scammon, lawyer, banker, real estate operator and civic leader, in the Marine Bank Building, shown in the center of the picture on the front cover of this *Journal*. This scene, at the corner of La Salle and Lake streets in 1856, with the masts of a lake boat docked in the river in the background, the plank streets and sidewalks, and its architectural contrasts, typifies the city as it was beginning to pull itself up out of the mud. The Historical Society outgrew several early homes and on November 19, 1868 opened its own new building at the corner of Dearborn and Ontario streets. Less than three years later this supposedly safe structure was destroyed in

the Chicago Fire. After several years the Society was revived and has grown steadily ever since. The complete story of its century is told in *The Chicago Historical Society, 1856-1956, An Unconventional Chronicle*, by Paul M. Angle, director of the Society and former Illinois State Historian, published earlier this year.

NEW DIRECTOR OF JUNIOR HISTORIAN PROGRAM

Phyllis E. Underwood of Forest Park, Illinois, has been named director of the Illinois Junior Historian program by Illinois State Historian Clyde C. Walton, to succeed George Pownall, who is taking postgraduate studies at the University of Illinois.

Miss Underwood was graduated from Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, with Departmental Honors in history, studied American history at the University of Washington, Seattle, and for a year at the Johns Hopkins University graduate school, Baltimore, Maryland. She taught for a year at the Friends' Girls School, Ramallah, Jordan, and another year, on a Fulbright Teaching Assistantship, at the Wildermuth Gymnasium fuer Maedchen, Tuebingen, Germany.



PHYLLIS UNDERWOOD

The new director assumed her duties on October 1. The first issue of the *Illinois Junior Historian* to appear under her direction was published November 1. This issue featured a new cover design, the first in a series of changes contemplated for the magazine. Beginning in January each issue of the *Junior Historian* will be devoted to a single theme. This new series will contain articles written by adults as well as student contributions. The magazine also will be enlarged, have more pictures and some new features designed to be of greater service to classroom teachers and to add to the students' enjoyment of history.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The program of the Alton Area Historical Society meeting on September 9 was devoted to the explorers of the West. Mrs. Harry L. Meyer discussed the Lewis and Clark expedition, Zebulon M. Pike, Stephen H. Long and frontier painter George Catlin. Donald F. Lewis told of the Lewis and Clark Caravan's recent visit to Wood River and displayed a medal like those which the explorers presented to Indian chiefs. Pictures of early Alton were shown by Mrs. George Pfeifferberger. The Society voted to join with the "Land

o' Goshen" Society in its visit to the Flagg home on October 7 and to meet with the Madison County Society at Marine on October 21.

Belvidere High School students furnished the program at the Boone County Historical Society's meeting in the courthouse on September 20. Miss Joey Blum told of the history of the National Sewing Machine Company, and Douglas Edmonds described the "Soldier's Registry" of all soldiers buried in Boone County, on which he and Jiles Cole have been working.

The Du Page County Historical Society met on July 15 at the old Graue Mill near Hinsdale. Hugh Dugan, a director of the Society and co-founder of the Graue Mill Corporation, spoke on pioneer milling. The Society presented the Corporation with an "award of honor" for the restoration of the mill, which is visited by thousands each year. The mill was in operation for the inspection of members of the Society.

A Historical Art Portfolio of Du Page County, prepared by a committee headed by H. G. Foote, is being distributed.

The La Salle County Historical Society met in "Folk Valley," two miles northeast of Marseilles, on July 8. Mrs. Barbara Eby spoke on the history of the valley and Johnny Johnson on the arts and crafts of the Norwegians. Keith Clark sang his ballads on La Salle County history, accompanying himself on the guitar and banjo.

The Marshall County Historical Society met at the Saratoga town hall on July 23. Papers were read on phases of the township's history, with Mrs. Blake Grieves describing the Lacon Woolen Mills.

The Society co-operated actively in the presentation of the historical pageant "Remember This Valley" in connection with Old Settlers Day, August 23. This pageant, written by Eleanor Bussell, secretary of the Society, depicted scenes in the early history of what is now Marshall County, concluding with the organization of the county in 1839.

At the Society's meeting at the Hopewell town hall on August 27 preliminary steps were taken toward formation of a little theater group. Myrtle Strawn, only living grandchild of John and Mary (McLeish) Strawn, first settlers of the township, spoke on the pioneer families of the area.

The Society has been officially commended by the Marshall County Board of Supervisors for its contribution to the life of the county.

The Captain James White era of Nauvoo history was the subject of discussion at the Nauvoo Historical Society meeting on July 17. Mrs. Pearl Gordon Vestal was the principal speaker. Mrs. Robert G. Reed, a great-great-granddaughter of Captain White, spoke on the White family. Mary Siegfried presented the Society with her painting of the White home, the first house in Nauvoo, and Mrs. Hazel Tedford talked about her grandfather William Dundy, a later owner of the house.

Officers of the Nauvoo Society were guests of the Iowa State Historical Society on the latter's recent river cruise on the *Addie Mae*, following which the Iowa Society members toured the Nauvoo museum.

The Ogle County Historical Society sponsored a historical pageant on August 16, the hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's speech at Oregon. Ruby Nash gathered the data which was put into pageant form and directed by Mrs. Kathryn Gelandier. Clark McDaniel of Polo took the part of Lincoln. Following the pageant a street square dance was held, with Curtis Brickey as caller. Other civic and fraternal organizations assisted in the presentation.

The Polo chapter of the Society held a picnic meeting at the Buffalo Grove school on September 9, and discussed the history of the area.

At the Perry County Historical Society's meeting at the Du Quoin Fairgrounds on July 2, Principal R. E. Lee of the Tamaroa grade school spoke on Perry County in the Civil War.

The Society met on August 6 at the Browning Robinson home south of Tamaroa, a former "Underground Railroad" station.

Everett McMurray read a paper at the Society's meeting on September 10 on a house which now stands on Jefferson Street in Du Quoin. Originally built in 1852, it was operated as a hotel by Josephus Vancil before being moved to its present site. Other participants gave short talks on phases of Perry County history. The meeting was held at the century-old Galum Presbyterian Church.

David V. Felts of Decatur, a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, addressed the Piatt County Historical Society at its meeting in Monticello on July 19. He was introduced by Wilbur Hawbaker, president of the Piatt County Society.

The Randolph County Historical Society and the University of Illinois department of archaeology conducted an "open house" tour through the re-

cent diggings at Modoc on August 5. Remains found in these diggings appear to point to man's presence in the area at an earlier date than had previously been estimated.

The Rockton Township Historical Society (Winnebago County), which opened the Stephen Mack home to visitors this summer, now has postcard views and stationery with a picture of the home for sale.

The Saline County Historical Society met at the Eddyville schoolhouse on July 3. Following a potluck supper the Eddyville Trio sang, William Farley gave an illustrated talk on scenic spots in Pope County, and Mrs. Ulah Barger gave a resumé of the history of Eddyville.

The Society met at Karbers Ridge on August 7. Musical numbers were given by the Vinyard Chapel Quartet and the Ray Drumm family. Short talks on Karbers Ridge history and points of interest in the vicinity were given by James, J. A. and W. C. Love; Es and Lucian Vinyard; John Grace, Hillis Patton, Asa Decker and Fred Gintert.

Several phases of the history of the town of Muddy were discussed at the Society's meeting there on September 4. The principal speaker was Mrs. Geneva Altmire, substituting for her mother Mrs. Perry Thompson who taught at Muddy for a number of years and was the first basketball coach in the area. Neal and Ed Foster, Joe Schrieber, Charles Girot, George Moore, John Murphy, Mrs. Gertrude Christner, Mrs. Fannie Penrod, Henry Businaro and John Molinarolo also participated in the program. Music was furnished by the Foster String Band.

The Stephenson County Historical Society held its annual family picnic at the Society's museum on June 24. A "Way Back When" panel discussion was conducted, with Donald L. Breed, editor of the *Freeport Journal-Standard*, as moderator and Ruth Hill, Mrs. W. L. Karcher, Kenneth H. Knowlton and Clarence P. Young as participants.

More than three hundred persons attended the annual ice cream social at the museum on July 27.

Officers of the society for 1956-1957 are: president, Ruth A. Winn; vice-presidents, Edward C. Brooks, Mrs. E. G. McCulloch and Mrs. J. McDowell Massie; secretary, Philip L. Keister; and treasurer, Mrs. S. E. Haines.

President John W. Allen of the Illinois State Historical Society addressed the first Vandalia Historical Society meeting of the new season on

September 18. The Society amended its by-laws to change from monthly to quarterly meetings. President Joseph C. Burtschi reported that the State has granted the Society permission to use a room in the old Statehouse to house its museum collection.

At the Williamson County Historical Society meeting on July 1 Clifford Gulley outlined plans for the centennial county fair, and Mrs. Nannie G. Parks exhibited a coverlet which won first prize at the first fair, October 23-24, 1857. Mrs. Bertha Neely Otey spoke on the history of the Neely family and quoted the rules of the Black School in the Dykersburg vicinity in 1866. President Snyder Herrin presided, and Mrs. Helen Roberts acted as secretary pro tem. in the absence of the regular secretary Mrs. G. W. Bayles.

EARLY LAKE COUNTY PAINTINGS DISCOVERED

A group of eight paintings of Lake County scenes executed by Joseph Doubrava between 1871 and 1882 were discovered this summer among the effects of the late Edward G. Martin of Waukegan. Doubrava worked during that period as a carriage decorator in Chicago, an expert wood finisher in Waukegan and a body painter in Kenosha, Wisconsin, but his paintings remained unknown until their accidental discovery.

President James R. Getz of the Lake County Historical Society said that local historians had not been aware of the existence of any regional art produced in the county. One picture, depicting the cradling of grain, was exhibited at the Waukegan Art League Festival in September.

Opie Read wrote of Lake County in 1898 in *A Yankee from the West*: "The billows of Wisconsin breaking gently into Illinois; lakes scattered like a handful of jewels thrown broadcast, quiet rivers singing low among the rushes . . . [but] the contemplative writer has been silent, and the American painter has shut his eyes." Doubrava, had Read only known it, had produced twenty years earlier paintings of many of the places Read described. Plants native to Lake County are grouped in the foreground of several of the paintings.

KNOX COUNTY LANDMARK DESTROYED

One of the oldest and most historic buildings in Knox County—the Lincolnshire log cabin—burned to the ground on the night of September 23. Built in 1832 by the Rev. Jacob Gum, a Revolutionary War veteran, it was believed to be the only surviving building of Log City, predecessor of modern

Galesburg. The first sermon preached in Henderson Township was by "Elder Gum" in this cabin.

Although efforts had been made at intervals since 1908 to preserve the cabin and relocate it in Lincoln Park, Galesburg, it was only this summer that the funds had actually been raised and permission obtained to move the cabin.

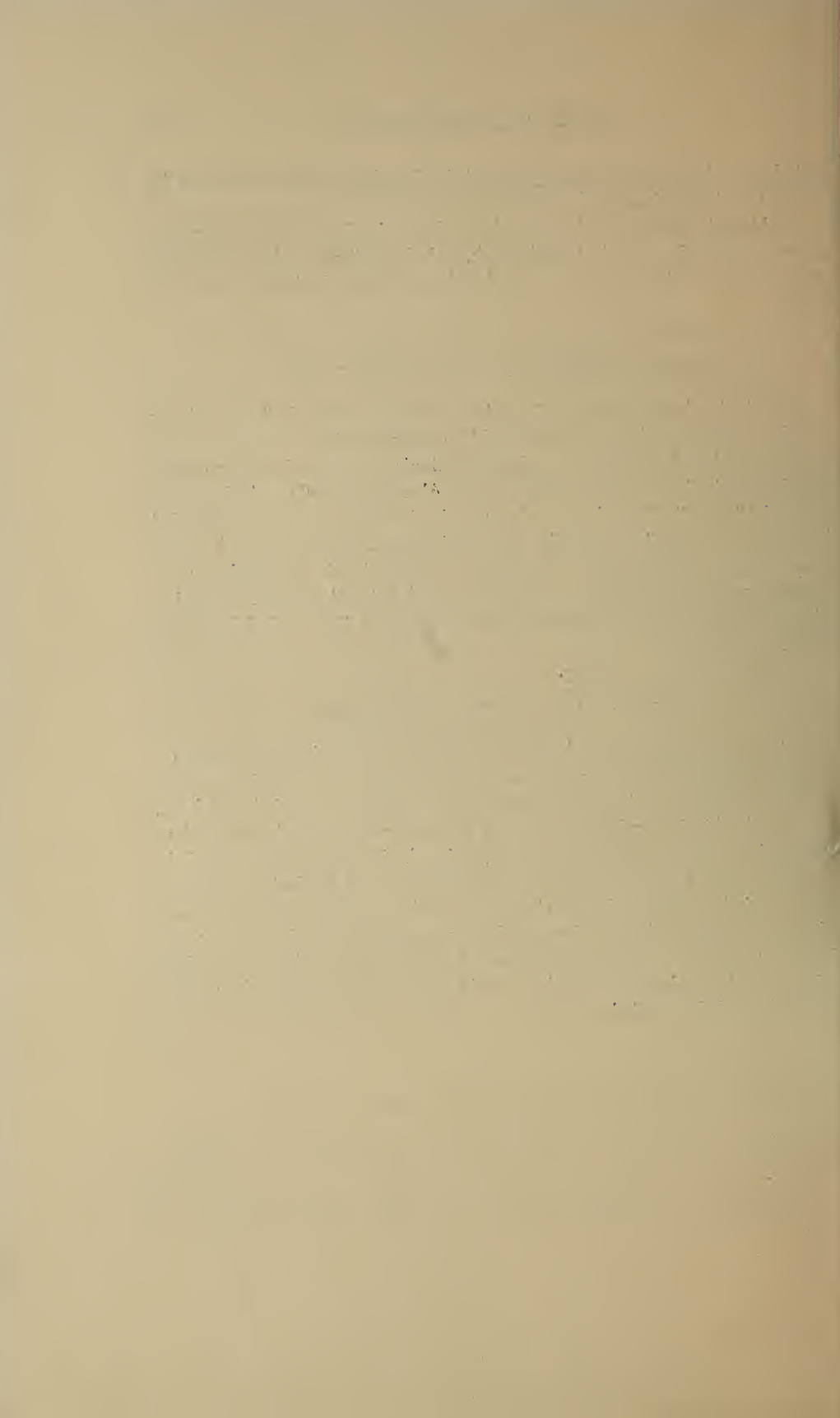
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC DIES

With the death on August 2 of Albert Woolson, 109, its last surviving member, the Grand Army of the Republic ceased to exist.

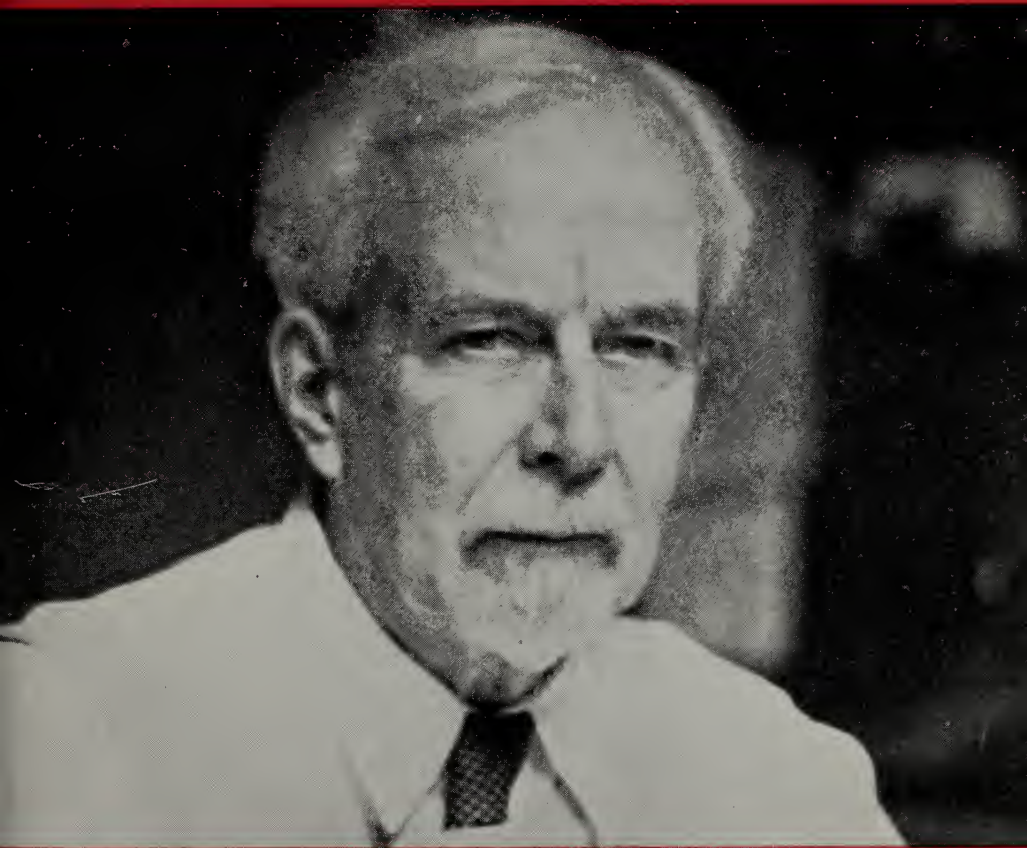
The G.A.R. had special meaning for Illinois, for not only did it consist of soldiers who had fought under President Abraham Lincoln and Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, but the first post in the United States was founded in Decatur on April 6, 1866 by Dr. Benjamin F. Stephenson and twelve other veterans. The Grand Army's first two national commanders were Illinoisans—Generals Stephen A. Hurlbut and John A. Logan. The last Illinois G.A.R. member, Lewis Fablinger of Downers Grove, died in March, 1950.

WYATT EARP BIRTHPLACE MARKED

A fifteen-thousand-pound block of granite, with a plaque mounted on it, was officially dedicated at Monmouth on September 5 at the house—406 South Third Street—where Wyatt Earp, famous Western marshal, was born. The granite block was brought from a Minnesota quarry and presented to the city by the Minneapolis & St. Louis Railroad. The ceremonies were held on the opening day of the Warren County Prime Beef Festival, and participants included Ralph Kilfey, chairman of the festival committee; Mrs. Fleming Long, president of the park board; Camille Radmacher, Monmouth librarian; officials of the railroad; State Representative Robert McKoskey, who secured the plaque; and eight-year-old Wyatt Earp of Reynolds, a direct descendant of the marshal.



Journal
of the
**ILLINOIS STATE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



ges 359-74

ILLINOIS SCULPTOR LORADO TAFT

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

WINTER 1956

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LORADO TAFT AND THEATER

BY GENEVIEVE RICHARDSON

THE name Lorado Taft recalls the sculptor's rhythmic *Fountain of Time* on the Midway in Chicago, *Solitude of the Soul* or the *Fountain of the Great Lakes* at the Chicago Art Institute, *Lincoln, the Young Lawyer* in Urbana, the great concrete Indian popularly known as *Black Hawk* overlooking the Rock River near Oregon, Illinois, the four figures made for the unfinished *Fountain of Creation* which now guard the entrances of the Auditorium and the Library on the University of Illinois campus, the *Alma Mater* at the University of Illinois, *The Pioneers* in Elmwood, or the *Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument* in Danville. Few people, however, know of Taft's interest in the theater, an interest which influenced his work as a sculptor in at least three ways. His appreciation of theatrical methods, materials and techniques is evident in many of his works. Secondly, as a teacher of sculptors he employed theatrical methods in his studios to make his instructions effective and interesting to students. Finally, as a missionary seeking to interest the public in art, he employed demonstrations which in many instances were essentially theatrical.

Genevieve Richardson is an instructor in the department of speech at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, where she teaches theater courses and supervises the costuming for plays at the University Theatre. She received her Ph.D. from the University in 1953 but began her study of Lorado Taft's interest in theater with her Master's thesis in 1948.

An appealing theatricalism was also a part of the sculptor's personality. Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas says that her father was a shy man; however, he also had a flair for the dramatic in his everyday conversation, in his lectures, and in his teaching methods. When he entered a room he immediately became the center of interest, and his friends still quote his witticisms and bits of his philosophy. An example is his often repeated exclamation, "Life is the most interesting thing I ever got into. I wouldn't have missed it for anything!" This dramatic trait led his colleagues in the studios to believe that if Taft had chosen the profession of acting, he would have been successful. His former associate, Miss Nellie Walker, adds that he seemed happiest when the students were rehearsing plays and tableaux and making costumes and properties for informal productions.

Taft's interest in amateur theatricals began when he was a student at the University of Illinois where his father, Don Carlos Taft, was a professor. The Tafts frequently entertained students at their home and one of the favorite pastimes was the impromptu production of short plays.

In June, 1880, at the age of twenty, Taft received his Master's degree from the University of Illinois. He left immediately for France to study sculpture at the Beaux Arts Academy in Paris. There he had his first contact with the professional theater where the realistic scenes and theatrical effects made such a deep impression on him that he wrote detailed descriptions in his letters to his father. In the studios he found that the students enjoyed working out tableaux, especially those in which they attempted to reproduce the scenes of famous paintings.

Lorado Taft's career as a sculptor began in 1886 when he chose the young and thriving city of Chicago, in which to work.¹ Here he opened his first studio, and also joined the

¹ Taft once said, "I like the mountains, though they seem to be theatrical pieces of stage furniture set up for effect. For real, solid enduring beauty the prairies of this state (Illinois) are satisfying." *Illinois Alumni News*, Dec., 1936, p. 6.

staff of the year-old Art School at the Art Institute. Taft went to the professional theater when he could afford it, not only for the pleasure he received, but also for the knowledge he gained. After seeing Edwin Booth and Helena Modjeska in *Richelieu* on March 29, 1890, he wrote to his parents, "It was very fine. I enjoy those historical plays so much because they bring so vivid a picture of the times and leave definite memories."² Four years later he wrote to his father,

We are just now devoting ourselves to "Grand Opéry." The finest singers in the world are giving beautiful representations of the greatest operas. We cannot afford to go every night but have argued to ourselves that it is an essential part of our education, and go as frequently as possible. I am learning a great deal in this way.³

Taft believed so strongly that one learns much by seeing dramas that he began to encourage his students to attend good plays. When Walter Hampden played in *The Yellow Jacket* at the Fine Arts Theater in October, 1913, Taft took a party of fifty of his students to see a performance.⁴

Amateur acting groups found Taft a willing assistant in making properties, designing costumes and sometimes acting a part. He participated in all three of these activities when the Congregational Church of Evanston presented scenes in tableaux from General Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur*. He played the part of Malluch and also designed the costumes and properties which were reported to be "historically correct and artistically perfect."⁵

Taft used his skill again in supervising the making of Greek helmets and armor for the first festival of the Art Students League at the Art Institute. After the festival the armor and draped costumes were carefully stored in the Taft costume box for future tableaux.

² Letter, dated April 1, 1890, in the University of Illinois collection of Taft's private papers.

³ *Ibid.*, March 22, 1894.

⁴ *Chicago Record-Herald*, Sept. 21, 1913.

⁵ Unidentified newspaper clipping, Taft Papers. The date is probably 1891.

Taft served on two committees which promoted the production of plays in Chicago. In 1912 he helped sponsor a repertory company known as the Drama Players and he was a member of the Chicago Theater Society which brought unusual plays to the city. He was also an active member of the Drama League of America and served as a national director from 1922 to 1924, and as first vice-president from 1924 to 1928.

In 1906 Taft moved his studio from the Fine Arts Building to a brick barn on the Midway at the University of Chicago. Here rooms accommodated twelve to sixteen students, an exceedingly harmonious group which the Tafts soon referred to as "the studio family." The students sometimes called Taft "Fra Lorado" because their plan of living and working together with the master artist was very much like that of the Renaissance studios. It was only natural that a part of the entertainment they planned together should be the same as that Taft had experienced in the Beaux Arts; the posing of tableaux and the acting of short plays. Taft did not act in these, but he contributed a stage in the rear studio and a clothes press which was soon filled with satin and cambric costumes. On special occasions the students decorated the court of the studio and donned costumes for a banquet, party or dance. Usually they used some central theme such as a Venetian palace or a desert scene with a black Bedouin tent. Sometimes these parties were held in the artist's home. Mrs. Taft reminisces: "I remember the stair rail bound with running cedar, one window for the Christmas tree, and the new bay window serving as the setting for Christmas tableaux in which we were helped by a large party of young people from the studio."⁶

While visiting in Italy during the summer of 1926, Taft seemed obsessed with the idea of owning some Dominican robes, and ordered one for himself and one for his wife spe-

⁶ Ada Taft, *Lorado Taft, Sculptor and Citizen* (Greensboro, N. C., 1946), 83.

cially made by Dominican sisters in Florence. The purchase was a strain on his budget, but he took great delight in the robe and loved to put it on and parade about the studio in it. Mrs. Taft used the robes as two of the costumes in a tableau which she arranged as a surprise for Taft on his next birthday. The scene she chose for the students to present was the Luca della Robbia baptismal scene which Taft had often dramatized in his lectures. A papier maché replica of the Andrea doors served as an entrance for the procession of about thirty actors. Taft was not only surprised but was very impressed with the performance, and it made him realize more than ever the possibilities of a complete play.

Each year the Tafts left the city and spent the summers in the country. In the summer of 1897 Taft, his wife, and some of his friends went to Bass Lake in Indiana. As usual, a box of costumes was taken along; a very special box this year, for the Greek draperies and helmets used in the artist's festival in February had been added. The first Saturday night in September the campers and some guests, who traveled the seventy-five miles from Chicago for the occasion, donned the costumes for a Greek dance in Taft's studio.

There was much recreation mixed in with the work done that summer, and diversion of some kind occurred constantly. Even the simplest daily happenings were accompanied with hilarity. Costumes and properties, often donned at the last moment, helped to make these episodes memorable. The *Sunday Times* caught the whole spirit of this summer in an article, "Taft's Friends Amaze Farmers—Queer Things Done by Chicago Artists Who Live an Unconventional Life in Indiana." One section describes Taft's "unusual raiment":

Unconventional variety in costume, for instance, may be made a source of pleasure to the eye, and it was in this very matter that the campers first got themselves noticed. Every morning all hands go in bathing. The thing that struck the country gentry as unusual was the raiment worn by Mr. Taft himself. Upon his head perches a haughty Grecian helmet; in his hands, in

default of Greek swords in camp, he carries a saw. Wrapped about his form as a toga he wears a blood-red blanket, and with such adornment strides down to the water's edge. The farmers remarked about it.⁷

Of course Taft did not worry about what the farmers thought, but he enthusiastically took part in the impromptu fun which continuously lightened the serious work of the camp.

For the nominal fee of one dollar a year, Wallace Heckman offered in 1898 ten acres of his vast estates two miles north of Oregon, Illinois, as a camp site to Taft and ten of his literary and artist associates.⁸ The ten acres, known as Eagle's Nest Camp, were on a bluff overlooking the Rock River. At the foot of the bluff was Ganymede's Spring, and on the crest above it was a gnarled cedar which once held an eagle's nest. Beautiful shady paths led through the trees to Ganymede, the Heckmans' big white house.

Because they were away from the city and were camping, everyone wore comfortable clothing. Mrs. Taft believed that the isolation of the group, before the days of autos and good roads, made unconventional dress seem quite natural, and explains the impromptu costume entertainments which occurred regularly. The women put their hair in braids, and dressed in short skirts and low necked blouses at a time when long skirts and high collars were the fashion. The men dressed casually, too; Taft and Oliver Dennet Grover "sporting the black berets of Paris student days," and Charles Francis Browne "strutted about in wide corduroy trousers, singing and striking operatic attitudes."⁹ It was an easy step from these casual clothes to theatrical dress, and occasionally a camper would appear at mealtime in one of the Greek costumes. On moonlight nights groups of them sometimes dressed in

⁷ *Chicago Times*, Sept. 12, 1897.

⁸ The eleven men who founded Eagle's Nest Camp were Lorado Taft, Charles Francis Browne, Hamlin Garland, Ralph Clarkson, Charles Dickinson, Henry B. Fuller, Oliver Dennett Grover, I. K. Pond, Allen B. Pond, Horace Spencer Fiske and J. Spencer Dickerson.

⁹ Taft, *Lorado Taft*, 45.

these Greek draperies and danced in and out among the trees.

All the campers ate together in the Camp House, a large building with a huge fireplace in the central room. The dedication of this community building is typical of the dramatics which became traditional with the group. Guests were invited for the Labor Day week end, and the first thing they saw when they arrived was a huge bonfire with a gypsy encampment around it. On Monday night everyone gathered in the new building for a banquet and dancing:

Then Fanny Bloomfield Zeisler, one of the most noted pianists of the day, went to the piano and started Schubert's *Marche Militaire*, and oh, how she played it! With spontaneous impulse one couple after another began marching around the room until we were all tramping around the big hall to the beat of those great rhythms. That fall nearly every gathering around the fireplace ended in a march.¹⁰

Thereafter, Labor Day became the great festival day at Eagle's Nest Camp. Each year Mr. and Mrs. Heckman invited their tenants to their home where supper was served on the lawn. The rental fee of one dollar for the year was paid to the overlord after the supper. The campers had to walk to the Heckman house; so they put on costumes and made a procession of it. Each year a different theme was employed, sometimes invented at the last moment, sometimes with careful planning and renting of properties days in advance. The group gathered at the Camp House, then proceeded along the bluff and down the long path through the trees to the big white house.

One year they dressed as Indians and pioneers, and acted out an event common in early Illinois history. The old wagon which the housekeeper drove to town for the supply of groceries and ice was decorated to suggest a covered wagon with pans and pails hung on the outside. The settlers fortunate enough to ride were acted by well-known people: Mrs. Laura McAdoo Triggs, sister of Secretary William G. McAdoo of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*



THE "EGYPTIANS" OF EAGLE'S NEST CAMP

Members of the summer camp at the Wallace Heckman farm on the Rock River near Oregon, Illinois, chose an Egyptian theme for their Labor Day pageant in 1900 in honor of Egyptologist James Henry Breasted, who was visiting them. Mrs. Lorace Taft is seated at the right end of the front row holding an urn on her head in the picture taken on the lawn in front of the Heckman house. Her daughter Jessie is seated on her lap and standing beside them to the left is another daughter, Emil. Sculptor Taft is standing two rows back of them with a white turban and a dark beard. Dr. Breasted is standing near the middle of the group—with a white turban and moustache. In front of him is the Tafts' third daughter, Mary.

President Wilson's cabinet; Lucy Fitch Perkins, author and illustrator of children's stories; and Congressman Robert R. Hitt, who had been a shorthand reporter at the Lincoln-Douglas Debates in 1858. As these pioneers were journeying to Ganymede, eight fierce Indians on horseback came charging through the woods, but with true hardy pioneer spirit the occupants of the covered wagon reached the manor house first.

When James Henry Breasted, the Egyptologist, visited the camp, the colony chose an Egyptian theme for the Labor Day pageant. A group of the artists began working together on two huge papier-maché Egyptian figures which were placed on either side of the entrance to the camp, and girls were chosen to be Egyptian statues. The night of Dr. Breasted's arrival Heckman met him at the train and drove him to the estate. He left the car at the edge of the woods where they were met by

a white-robed priestess (Mrs. Heckman) who led them silently through the woods. At intervals on either side of the path were twenty girls dressed in white, sitting on white draped platforms lighted by lanterns. The girls were in immovable attitudes, posed as the stone Colossi of Memnon. The memory of this night seems to be a favorite of all those who took part in it, and Dr. Breasted graciously declared that he was reminded of Karnak and seemed to be much impressed.

The next day fifty Egyptians and the Colossi of the preceding night formed the annual Labor Day procession. A flutist playing airs from *Aida* led them along the bluff and down the tree shaded path. Dr. Breasted himself joined in the procession as an Egyptian slave driver, and two girls, heavily manacled with chains from the porch swing, were his slaves. At the end of the march he made a speech in Arabic, which sounded impressive even though no one understood it.

During a year of financial depression over the country, the group found ideas for their procession in I. T. Friedman's book *By Bread Alone*, which dealt with the downtrodden classes. The costumes were old clothes or incongruous combinations of clothes. The men carried rakes, hoes and banners. The sign borne by the landscape artist Charles Francis Browne read "The Rake's Progress." Another banner asked for "Work for the Unemployed." The fee that year was paid in tokens and buttons, or as expressed in Harold Hammond's song which he wrote for the group, "eighty-nine pennies, two slugs and some postage." One Labor Day morning no preparation had yet been made; so someone suggested a living newspaper theme. That evening all appeared in the procession in cleverly contrived costumes made from old newspapers.

The old Indian spring at the foot of the bluff had been named Ganymede by Margaret Fuller when she visited the site in the summer of 1843.¹¹ Sixty-six years later the members

¹¹ In her book, *At Home and Abroad*, Margaret Fuller Ossoli gives a detailed description of the camp site and tells of her inspiration there to write the poem, "Ganymede to His Eagle." The book was edited by her brother, A. B. Fuller.

of the colony decided to rededicate it. Guests watched the ceremony from launches on the river from which they could see a procession of white-robed nymphs and dryads carrying Japanese lanterns coming slowly down the side of the bluff. Then grouping themselves under red lights around the white masonry of the spring, they performed the rites of rededication.

Everyone in camp took part in the processions, and most of the campers joined in the impromptu costume dances. Taft found time for the processions, and enjoyed the challenge to his ingenuity. His daughter Mary says,

my father always entered wholeheartedly into the "dressing up" at camp, and rigged himself up with something outlandish and imaginative rather than an orthodox costume. As a child I remember seeing him busily carving a cross from Ivory soap to wear with a monk's costume at an Art Students' Ball. He thought it would be such a surprise to those whom he could persuade to kiss the cross!¹²

The plays and musicals, however, were presented by those most interested in acting, while the rest of the colony was an attentive audience. The actors' willingness to present original pieces was an incentive to the Chicago composer Harold Hammond, and he wrote *The Elysian Fields* which they presented at the Camp House. This operetta dealt with the struggle of youth against tradition in a humorous take-off on all the camp members. One of the stage properties was a large thermometer on which each member's degree of fitness to belong to the colony was registered.

Another original drama was an untitled masque by Miss Elizabeth Wallace, presented on the hillside back of Taft's studio. Elizabeth Dickerson played the lady; Jessie Heckman Hirschl, the minstrel; and Mrs. Taft, the dryad with vines in her long braids.

Well-known plays were also given, such as Gilbert and Sullivan's *Patience*, *Iolanthe*, and *The Mikado*. Charles

¹² Mary Taft Smith to the author, Sept. 2, 1948.

Breasted played the leading role, Olangtsi, in Laurence Housman's *The Chinese Lantern*. This play was of special interest to the artists because it is set in the studio of a Chinese painter. Inspired by Walter Hampden's performance which they had seen in Chicago, a group of art students performed *The Yellow Jacket*. They used the porch and balcony of the Heckman home for the stage with the audience seated on the front lawn. When the little Chinese mother went to Heaven with her baby, she ascended a ladder to the balcony. Shakespeare was not ignored either. The Taft daughters, Mary, Emily and Jessie Louise, with the help of the other young people in the camp presented *As You Like It* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.¹³

It is not strange that from among all his dramatic experiences one piece of dramatic literature impressed Taft so deeply that he felt an urge to express the symbolism of the play in sculpture. The short play, which set him a task of many months' work, was Maurice Maeterlinck's *Les Aveugles*. This allegorical drama shows the hopeless plight of twelve blind men and women and one small child. An old priest has taken them for a walk in a woods where they sit down to rest and to nap. The play begins with the awakening of the blind, and the very slow realization that the priest has died while they were asleep. There is no one to lead them back to safety, and the group is paralyzed in an agony of suspense and fear of the unknown. Then the youngest woman snatches the child from his mother and cries, "The child sees; the child will lead us," as she lifts him high to find the ray of light.

Les Aveugles made a profound impression upon Taft, and it occurred to him that the drama might be represented in sculpture. After considering many motifs he finally chose what he called "the artist's moment," the scene of hope when

¹³ Emily Taft (Mrs. Paul H. Douglas) had a short career on the stage. She played in Susan Glaspell and George Cohan Cooke's *Suppressed Desires* which was a curtain raiser for *Emperor Jones*, and in *The Cat and the Canary*. Mary Taft (Mrs. Raymond A. Smith) taught dramatics in Chicago and did some children's theater work.



LORADO TAFT'S "THE BLIND"

Inspired by Maurice Maeterlinck's play, *Les Aveugles*, and acclaimed for a time as the sculptor's best-known work, it is still in the original plaster and was never cast in any other medium.

the girl holds the baby up to the light. For six weeks Taft and his assistants experimented on how to keep the dramatic value in the composition. Taft explains the process:

The experimenting had to do largely with the young man of the up-lifted arms. Should I contradict my own confession of faith, I who enjoy best the group that "could be rolled down the hill without breaking anything off?" The arms of the deaf-mute were lifted and taken down many times before I was reconciled, but the mass became so serene and expressionless from a distance without these exclamation points that they were finally lifted to stay.¹⁴

No doubt it is this dramatic quality of *The Blind* which prompted reviewers to refer to it as Taft's best known sculpture for ten years after it was modeled.

Another detail to be worked out was the dress of the figures which, according to Maeterlinck, was to be hooded cloaks. In 1907 while the Tafts were visiting his brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Hamlin Garland, in New York, they were entertained in the home of the composer Edward MacDowell. Taft noticed a photograph of Mrs. MacDowell in a long, hooded cape, which suggested to him exactly what he wanted for *The Blind*. Mrs. MacDowell offered him the photograph which he accepted and used as a reference while modeling.

During the time the sculptor was working on *The Blind*, it occurred to him that *Les Aveugles* should be given in the original French by some of the members of Eagle's Nest Camp. Mrs. Taft recalls that "one day Lorado began to talk about our giving the play at camp. 'I think those old tent flies would make splendid capes just like Mrs. MacDowell's, and then we could give the play out on the hillside.'"¹⁵ The idea appealed to her and she began cutting and sewing the old canvas until finally twelve capes were completed. Mrs. Jessie Heckman

¹⁴ Lorado Taft, as quoted in *The Chautauquan*, Vol. LIV (May, 1909), 446. Taft's original plaster cast of *The Blind* is now in the Hall of Casts, Architecture Building, University of Illinois. This work, which measures nine feet by six feet, was never cast in any other medium.

¹⁵ Taft, *Lorado Taft*, 49.

Hirschl recalls with enthusiasm that the costumes made from the tent flaps fell in sculptural folds and looked lovely in the moonlight. She remembers also a humorous incident which showed the ingenuity of the group. The cast required six men; they had only five. To represent the dead priest they attached a mask of the sculptor Canova to a tree, draped material around it for a costume, and trusted the moonlight to complete the illusion.¹⁶

Taft had definite beliefs about teaching art so that visitors to the museums would understand the works on exhibit. He pointed out that sculpture was alive to the people during the Renaissance, but "it is aloof in this country. We frame it and we leave it. We must take it into our imagination and make it alive. Something must be done to humanize art."¹⁷ Taft had several plans to accomplish this, most of them involving techniques of the drama.

First of all he wrote articles and gave talks. In his lectures he dramatized the events of the sculptors' lives and made them human and living to his audience. He showed lantern slides of the artists, their great works of art, and the cities where they lived. In his famous Clay Talk he actually modeled while he spoke.

In 1924 Taft and his students reproduced in a room of the Midway studio a full scale replica of Donatello's studio as it might have been in 1425. This experience led to another project which was planned especially to interest children in art. Taft designed a series of nine miniature scenes which he called "Peep Shows" because they give children peeps into the life history of artists. Each scene represents a sculptor working in his studio or some dramatic event in a particular artist's life. Taft consulted many sources to make the figures, costumes, furniture, rooms, statues and postures authentic. Students under the supervision of Mary Webster modeled all parts of

¹⁶ From a conversation with Mrs. Hirschl, March 28, 1948.

¹⁷ Lena M. McCauley, "Lorado Taft's Round Table," *Christian Science Monitor*, June 16, 1924.

the three-dimensional scenes with plaster of Paris and painted them in appropriate colors.¹⁸

Another plan which Taft cherished for many years was the writing of a pageant depicting the lives of the Renaissance sculptors. The dramatic event which persisted with him was the one which he dramatized in his lecture "The Florentine Vista" concerning the competition in 1336 for a new set of doors for the Baptistry in Florence. Always in Taft's imagination the opening scene took place before another set of Baptistry doors which had been made by Andrea. Here the sculptors gathered to look at Andrea's work and to decide if they could surpass it. At odd moments Taft jotted down ideas for the play, and on the back of an old telegram he sketched this scene with notes concerning the action. Later the idea was used as the subject for one Peep Show and for the opening scene of a play, *The Gates of Paradise*.

Taft began writing the script in 1930, and became so interested in it that he said to Miss Marie Merrill, supervisor of Community Centers in Chicago, "My one longing, the dream of my heart, is to see the play produced."¹⁹ When he completed the writing, Miss Merrill became the producer for the play with a cast chosen from the students of Kelvyn Park Junior High School. Meanwhile assistants in Taft's studio were making properties, particularly the gates and models of Donatello's sculpture. Correct costumes and appropriate music added authenticity to the production.

After twelve years or more of tentative plans, and more than a year of writing, Taft's long desire to see the drama of the lives of the Renaissance artists acted by children became an actuality on February 12, 1931. He was so pleased with the initial production that he asked the cast to repeat the per-

¹⁸ Complete sets of the nine Peep Shows may be seen at the University of Illinois Museum and at the Dayton Art Institute, and two scenes are in the Chicago Art Institute. These plaster models should not be confused with dioramas, another mode of scenic representation in which a partially transparent painting is seen through an opening.

¹⁹ From a conversation with Miss Merrill, March 26, 1948.

formance at the Goodman Theater on March 1 at his expense. Admission to this performance was by invitation only, and the evening was made into a great occasion.

Later three adult groups gave full-length productions of *The Gates of Paradise*. Workers in the Midway studios performed it at Mandel Hall in April, 1931. The next year members of the Parker Practice Parent-Teacher Association presented it in April, and members of the Morgan Park Methodist Church in May.

From the staging of *The Gates of Paradise* Taft received valuable experience which aided him in one of his special interests, the correct lighting of sculpture. Three years previously he said to an audience in Washington, D.C., "Think how beautiful it would be to have our sculpture shown under spotlights so adjusted that the lights and shades would fall properly—so that it would look as the sculptor intended it should. If the 'Folly-girls' are worthy of a spotlight, certainly the masterpieces of sculpture are."²⁰ After seeing the effect of the spotlights on the models of Donatello's sculpture on the stage, he began experimenting in his own studio. Spotlighting probably would have been used by Taft more extensively if the knowledge had not come so late, but he lived only four years after his play was produced.

Taft's theatrical experiences throughout his life contributed to his theories about the arts. He did not believe that any one art was more important than another, but that the more each person knew about all the arts, the greater his own creative work would become. He recognized the theater as an ideal institution where all the arts come together for one great production. The theater enriched Taft's life, and by his continuing use of theatrical activities and techniques he enriched the lives of others.

²⁰ Lorado Taft, *American Magazine of Art*, XIX (Aug., 1928), 424.

SHELBY M. CULLOM: PRESIDENTIAL PROSPECT

BY WILLIAM A. PITKIN

THE CLIMAX of the long and distinguished career of Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois was the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Law of 1887.¹ In an address before the Illinois Grain Merchants' Association at Springfield, June 27, 1887, the Senator asserted that "The act will not be repealed. . . . Its substantial achievements have come to stay."² Though Cullom shared the distinction for this fundamental measure with Senator Reagan, a one-time member of Jefferson Davis' cabinet, the Illinoisan gained the greater glory for the creation of the first great regulatory commission. The original Reagan Bill made no provision for a Commission.³

Following the dismal failure of James G. Blaine in 1884 and the death of John A. Logan in 1886, Senator Cullom appeared to be in an advantageous position to further his presidential ambitions. By this time the "Man who looked like Lincoln" had come a long way since 1856 when he had been

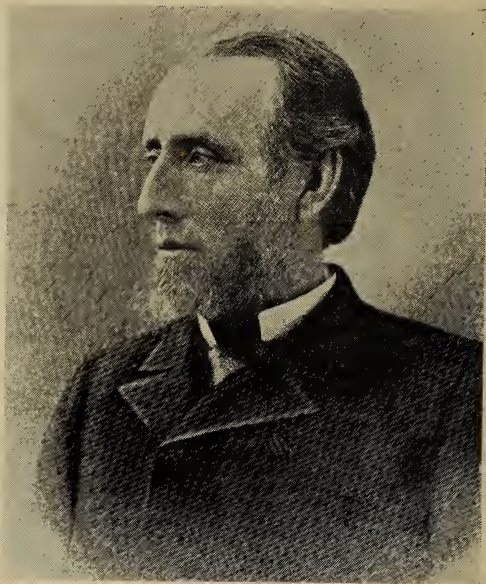
¹ The joint author with Senator Cullom was Representative John H. Reagan, of Texas. Reagan soon afterward became a United States Senator. *New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1887.

² Pamphlet, Letters and Papers of Shelby M. Cullom (Mss Illinois State Historical Library). Remarks of the Hon. Shelby M. Cullom, at Springfield, Ill., June 27, 1887.

³ The *New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1887, called Reagan the most prominent figure in Washington at the moment.

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a losing candidate for elector on the Fillmore Know-Nothing ticket and a successful candidate for the state legislature.⁴ In attempting to analyze the career of this remarkable man, numerous factors favorable to a Republican presidential nomination are easily discovered, and these appear to be of sufficient weight to offset the commonly-made charge that Cullom was colorless. Perhaps the editor who wrote, "Mr. Cullom is a good man in his way, with the disadvantage of having been born in Kentucky,"⁵ viewed with disfavor the custom of comparing Cullom and Lincoln. A popular slant with editors in dealing with Cullom was typified by the title of an article, "Illinois Senator Who Looks Like Lincoln."⁶ The obvious implication was complimentary; yet the reiteration of the title with variations doubtless bored and even annoyed some people. There could be only one Lincoln. Cullom assuredly did not encourage these comparisons but there was nothing he could do about it. Upon one occasion the Senator, responding to the usual pleasantry, said, "I had to look like some one, and I never knew a better man to resemble than Lincoln. But nobody was ever elected to an office because he



SHELBY M. CULLOM

⁴ Shelby M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service* (1911), p. 22; *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], Sept. 22, 1888, "Cullom as a Know-Nothing!"

⁵ *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, 1888 (Undated clipping in Cullom Papers); *New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1914. Senator Cullom's obituary is a good summary of his career. He was United States Senator from 1883 to 1913.

⁶ *Boston Advertiser*, Jan. 23, 1888.

looked like a man who once held that office."⁷ A far western paper, favorably disposed toward Senator Cullom's presidential ambitions, gave the Lincoln comparison a sensible perspective:

He does not look as LINCOLN did; he lacks the acuteness and mirth which always kept full pace side by side in the brain of LINCOLN, but he does resemble him in his straightforward integrity and sound judgment, and were he nominated there would be a feeling that LINCOLN'S mantle was upon him.⁸

The Lincoln theme apparently aided Cullom in his hold on public office in Illinois, but that it was a factor strengthening his presidential prospects the evidence is negative. Nevertheless the parallel that can be seen in the careers of Lincoln and Cullom was by no means imaginary; it was very real. Its best expression was given by the *Peoria Journal*:

The physical resemblance between Shelby M. Cullom and Abraham Lincoln has often been . . . commented on. . . Both educated themselves . . . [and were] acquainted with the hard farm life. . . Both studied law in the same law office, and both had the same broad views that acquaintance with nature in the free west seems to have brought to the men who . . . struggled with the privations of the pioneer's life. To Lincoln belongs the greater eloquence—that rare and divine gift which nature bestows on so few of her children. But the characters of the two men . . . are very much alike. The gaunt and brawny frame of Shelby M. Cullom . . . is capable as was that of Abraham Lincoln, of standing any drafts that may be drawn on it. The blade is a sharp one, but it will not wear out the scabbard.⁹

Another view of Senator Cullom's candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination expressed great praise for such achievements as the first bill to reduce that "twin relic of barbarism"—Mormonism. Subsequent bills on this subject followed the Cullom model. As governor, the board of railway and warehouse commissioners was largely his work. The editor continued:

⁷ *Piper City (Ill.) Advocate*, May 25, 1888.

⁸ *The Daily Tribune*, Salt Lake City, Feb. 4, 1888.

⁹ *Peoria Journal*, 1888 (Undated clipping in Cullom Papers).

Other public men were afraid. . . . The whole interstate control of rail-ways has grown out of Mr. Cullom's actions then. . . . He is as free of the vice of place brokerage as any man in America. It may be indeed that he has not taken the right course to win the nomination. He has not been a pyrotechnic statesman, but he has been of the greatest use to the business interests of the country . . . and this is his proudest title to the confidence reposed in him by the people of his state.¹⁰

Yet this editor believed that Senator Cullom had always been in the foreground and should not now seek the nomination. "He can afford to wait. . . ."

In view of Senator Cullom's failure to stage a strong and determined pre-convention campaign for the nomination, the Peoria editor's attitude is not subject to criticism. The intensity of any of Cullom's efforts never approached the grand strategy of James G. Blaine. Early in 1887 a Chicago friend wrote, urging the Senator to bestir himself.¹¹ Cullom replied, "I have no ambition or expectation in connection with high office of Prest. of U. S. [*sic*] . . . I have no anticipatn [*sic*] that my name will be used . . . either in our own state convn [*sic*] or in the nat'l. convn [*sic*]"¹²

The passing of Senator Logan in 1886 ought to have cleared the way for Cullom. The loyalty of Cullom to Logan was clearly indicated by the telegram from the latter on June 26, 1884, "You have my sincere gratitude for the manner in which you stood by me during the struggle in the National Republican Convention." The almost perpetual candidacy of James G. Blaine hovered over the party until his death in 1893. Only in 1888 and in 1892 did Cullom have any real prospect for presidential consideration.

The popularity of Blaine was so enormous that his failure to capture the presidency is a historical enigma. Often a friendly editor would endorse Cullom in a left-handed man-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1888 (Undated clipping in Cullom Papers). The Mormon bill is discussed in the *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], Feb. 4, 1888. Also, *Rockford*, [ILL.], *Daily Gazette*, Feb. 9, 1888.

¹¹ R. B. Longnecker to Cullom, Jan. 2, 1887. Cullom Papers.

¹² Cullom to Longnecker, Jan. 5, 1887. Cullom Papers.

ner such as the following, "Assuming Mr. Blaine out of the question, the candidate of the Republican party will almost certainly come from the west. . . . There is no possible man of today more thoroughly representative as an American than Senator Cullom."¹³ Some editors praised Cullom unqualifiedly, "He has a deal of quaint old Sucker State wit about him, and a stock of stories that he has gradually gathered ever since he followed his father's plow. The whole makes a combination that possesses a subtle fascination for the majority of men . . ." The editor furthermore observed, "Cullom has continually laughed at his boom or done as much as possible to withdraw it. What he seemed to want to do is to establish his availability and then keep it well stored up for the time when all other plans upset [and] . . . he has made his boom a mild joke."¹⁴

Apparently Senator Cullom accepted the vicissitudes of life and politics with calm detachment and normal blood pressure. A presidential ambition was a part of every American's heritage. When queried by a reporter concerning a certain amount of activity in his behalf, Cullom emphatically denied that he was a candidate, saying:

There are a good many names mentioned occasionally in connection with the Presidency, but I guess the most of them won't be candidates to hurt, as an old lawyer in Illinois once said of himself when he was running for the legislature. He was . . . trying to get the support of an influential old farmer, who listened to him patiently, but finally said, "See here, my friend . . . we farmers think that we have been sending lawyers to the legislature long enough." The old lawyer promptly replied: "That's so, but I am not a lawyer to hurt." This didn't satisfy the farmer . . . and they let him stay at home. The people won't send a man to the White House just because he is a candidate and wants to be President. . . . By the time the convention comes on they will know whom they want, and he will be nominated; and that's why I say that most of those who are talked about won't be candidates to hurt.¹⁵

¹³ *Newark* [N. J.] *Press-Register*, 1888. (Undated clipping in Cullom Papers).

¹⁴ *Boston Advertiser*, May 2, 1888.

¹⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 3, 1888.

Another estimate of Cullom came from a Democrat and former governor of Illinois, John M. Palmer, in reply to the query of a reporter, Theodore Kaiandra:

He [Cullom] is a consummate politician. . . . You have spoken of Lincoln. Lincoln was a good politician; but he was more, he was a born leader. Cullom is not, but there ain't [*sic*] a sharper eye in the state to see the very beginnings of a political drift nor a surer hand to guide the helm of political fortune. . . .¹⁶

Kaiandra also observed that "so loyal are the Republicans of Illinois to Blaine . . . that if he concludes to run they will enthusiastically help to nominate him." Another leading paper asserted that, "Since the death of John A. Logan we have never thought for a moment that any other man than James G. Blaine would be nominated if he were a candidate before the convention."¹⁷ A minority view was quoted approvingly by a Canadian paper, "From the swamp of the Sangamon he ascended step by step to the house of representatives, thence to be governor, and then to be senator. He will be the next Republican candidate for president."¹⁸ A Negro paper urged the nomination of Senator Cullom for the reason that "the country will have the services of Abraham Lincoln, the second."¹⁹

Whatever sentiment that may have developed for Cullom's candidacy quickly faded upon the emphatic announcement by the Senator in April, 1888 that he was not a candidate.²⁰ The endorsement of Walter Q. Gresham by the state convention apparently displeased him. Joseph Medill, of the *Chicago Tribune*, believed that Cullom was behaving in a manner contrary to his own interests. Medill wrote, "Outside of Illinois, he [Cullom] had no stock in trade whatever, except . . . in the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Law."

¹⁶ *Cincinnati Evening Post*, Feb. 4, 1888.

¹⁷ *Peoria Journal*, March 10, 1888.

¹⁸ *Kingston [Canada] Chronicle and News*, March 22, 1888.

¹⁹ *The National Leader*, March 24, 1888.

²⁰ *Chicago Inter Ocean*, April 23, 1888.

Some people were not satisfied with the law. Cullom should wait, the Chicago editor observed, and "Four years hence, the Interstate Commerce Law may be popular. . . . At that time it may be advisable to enter the list of candidates." Medill believed that Cullom's friends should advise him against "sulking" and "sneering" as "His true policy is, to imitate Senator Farwell's course, . . . and give Gresham hearty support. . . ."²¹ Medill's pessimism was underlined by the fear then current in Wall Street that Senator Cullom's new federal commission would give five men more power than five men had ever had before.²² Apparently Medill's favorite candidate, Walter Q. Gresham, was unacceptable to Senator Cullom. Medill wrote to Fifer that a conspiracy against Gresham existed. Cullom should not allow his friends to behave in this manner and "he is coming dangerously near to cutting his own throat for re-election to the United States Senate." Fifer was urged to show Cullom the "folly of his conduct."²³ Fifer promptly warned Cullom that Gresham's friends were preparing to attack him.²⁴ Meanwhile James G. Blaine had declined to yield to the pleas of his friends that he should become an active candidate for the Republican presidential nomination.²⁵

An additional factor in 1888 against Cullom in conservative circles was the Senator's advocacy of the Postal Telegraph. The proposal never received significant support. One editor wrote, "We trust our senator, who has distinguished himself in his efforts in behalf of the people with the railroads, will be as fortunate in downing the telegraph monopoly of Jay Hawk Gould [*sic*]."²⁶ The *Peoria Transcript* said that Cullom's bill for a postal telegraph was a natural outcome of his previous work. The Peoria editor continued, "No man under-

²¹ Joseph Medill to John R. Tanner, June 2, 1888. Cullom Papers.

²² *New York Times*, Jan. 16, 1887.

²³ Medill to Fifer, June 6, 1888. Letters and Papers of Joseph W. Fifer (Mss, Illinois State Historical Library).

²⁴ Fifer to Cullom, June 7, 1888. Cullom Papers.

²⁵ *Philadelphia, Evening Star*, June 2, 1888.

²⁶ *Daily Independent-Times* [Streator, Ill.], Feb. 25, 1888.

stands better than Mr. Cullom that the great danger to this country is the formation of gigantic trusts and monopolies. In respect of this, the telegraph system of this country is in even a more dangerous position than [*sic*] the railroads. It has virtually fallen into the hands of one man."²⁷ Of Mr. Gould, who apparently thrived on unpopularity, a writer observed, "Of course everybody knows that the Western Union Telegraph Company is Mr. Gould and Mr. Gould is the Western Union Telegraph Company . . . [and] is simply aiming at the sole monopoly of the Stock Exchange quotations."²⁸

Senator Cullom also received unfavorable publicity for a presidential prospect, in connection with the Blair-Cullom Bill. The editor of the *New York Times* sharply criticized him for a loosely drawn measure. The allegation was that the bill would provide disability payments for veterans of the Mexican War, the Black Hawk, the Seminole and other Indian wars. Since many Confederate veterans had fought in these wars, they would be placed on the United States pension rolls notwithstanding their Civil War records.²⁹

Another factor which may have hurt Cullom was the listing of his name as one of the "Railroad Senators." The authorship of the Interstate Commerce Law did not give Cullom a completely clear record with those who believed that the railroads should be compelled to accept their proper role as public utilities. Senator James B. Beck, of Kentucky, had introduced a bill to prohibit members of Congress from serving as attorneys for railroads "chartered or aided by the United States." Senator Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, frankly fought the bill. He said that he knew some senators who would be compelled to leave the Senate if they had to depend upon the \$5,000 salary. Senator Cullom opposed the Beck measure. Eventually a harmless substitute was adopted.³⁰

²⁷ *Peoria Transcript*, 1888 (Undated clipping in Cullom Papers).

²⁸ *New York Times*, Jan. 14, 1887.

²⁹ *New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1887, Editorial titled, "Pensions for Confederates."

³⁰ *New York Times*, Jan. 29, 30, 1887. Article, "The Railroad Senators—They Push Mr. Beck's Bill out of Its Place."

The retirement of Blaine as a candidate might well have advanced Senator Cullom's candidacy. Cullom needed a dynamic manager and the unswerving support of some one metropolitan paper, but his fortune was otherwise. As far as Blaine's withdrawal was concerned, the belief was expressed that "With all of Blaine's greatness he has a weakness that has resulted disastrously to his progress. It is the weakness of allowing inferior men, in the character of friends or rather henchmen, to warp his judgment, coming from a tendency . . . to avoid quarrels and scenes, and a desire not to offend people."³¹ The withdrawal of Blaine from the field inspired the *Chicago Tribune* to suggest the name of John Sherman; Senator Cullom was not mentioned.³² A Cullom boom simply did not develop. Apparently few responded to the urging of the writer, who said, "Lean out your souls and listen, ye men of Illinois, for well you may be proud that still in the days of Lincoln, Grant and Logan, the great commonwealth has statesmen whose renown cannot be bounded by state lines. . . . Illinois should respond and . . . give a solid vote for Cullom."³³ The Republican National Convention nominated Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, for the presidency. Harrison was able, though undistinguished—and safe.

Failure to gain important consideration for the Republican presidential nomination in 1888 did not diminish Senator Cullom's hopes in 1892. Apparently he had hoped that Blaine's shadow would not again appear to muddle the pre-convention canvass. Blaine's ill health was public knowledge and doubtless Cullom was indulging in wishful thinking that he would continue his duties as Secretary of State and retire gracefully from the political scene. But this could not be as Blaine relished the political tug of war. His senatorial colleague, Charles B. Farwell, reoriented Cullom's thinking on the fateful subject. "I do not quite agree in your conclusion

³¹ *Philadelphia Evening Star*, June 2, 1888.

³² *Chicago Tribune*, June 2, 1888.

³³ *Springfield, Daily News*, March 8, 1888.

that Blaine will not be a candidate," wrote Farwell, "and give as a reason that after his late indisposition, he eagerly allowed a reporter to go into his room, to whom he said he was no[t] sick, and was as well as he ever was. He would not have done this if he was not a candidate, [Ralph] Plumb told me . . . [that] he said that he [Blaine] would run if he had to carry his coffin on his back."³⁴

Cullom was correct in anticipating Blaine's announcement that he was not a candidate.³⁵ Blaine's letter of February 6 to J. S. Clarkson, chairman of the Republican National Committee, was a clear statement, but the fact remained that Blaine's many followers would continue to urge his candidacy. Cullom's friends at this juncture were optimistic. Asked about his intentions the Senator from Illinois replied that he would deem it an honor to receive the nomination. He added, "If any other man can get more votes than I can, I would be for him."³⁶ An editor said, "Blaine may be brilliant, Reed may be sagacious, but Cullom is safe."³⁷ At this stage Cullom apparently was more optimistic respecting his presidential prospects than at any other period in his career. He said, "Of course I am not a candidate in the sense of reaching out for the nomination. I have permitted the use of my name by some of my friends in Illinois and elsewhere, and I hope to have the support of my State delegation in the National Convention." The shadow of Blaine remained. "Had he [Blaine] been an avowed candidate," Cullom observed, "he would doubtless have obtained support of the Illinois delegation. . . . But he has not at any time been an avowed candidate. . . . Hence I felt that I might aspire to the support of my own State . . . and I am still hoping that my fellow citizens will see fit to vote for me in the convention."³⁸

³⁴ C. B. Farwell to Cullom, Jan. 11, 1892. Cullom Papers.

³⁵ *Illinois State Journal*, Feb. 8, 1892.

³⁶ *Star of the West* [Beardstown, Ill.], Feb. 12, 1892.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1892.

³⁸ *Illinois State Journal*, Feb. 9, 1892.

Some estimates of Cullom from other quarters were not too favorable. One editor, who was impressed with Cullom's long record in public service, unmarred by defeat, added that he had no enemies, and was more popular among Republican politicians than President Harrison, "but has not as much gray matter. He is not a man of great mental strength, but an average Senator and proverbially lucky politician."³⁹

Cullom's hopes rested greatly on President Harrison's lack of popularity. In a letter to Cullom a friend described the situation aptly. He wrote, "It does no good to say that his administration is a clean one, and free from scramble. Ice is generally clean but with very little attractive force. . . . The Republican party must have a stronger candidate than Harrison."⁴⁰ Joseph G. Cannon was a man whose opinion was valued. Cullom sought his advice and the reply was in plain words. Cannon said that Republicans generally favored the renomination of President Harrison. Republicans did not feel unkindly toward Cullom, Cannon said, "but many of them say, the Senator should wait until '96." Cannon's chilling appraisal of the situation plainly discouraged the Senator.⁴¹ Another factor in this discouragement was the observation by his friend John R. Tanner that "there is no active sentiment with the masses for you . . . [and] your friends have lost hope."⁴²

Senator Cullom soon decided to withdraw his name. In a letter to ex-Mayor John A. Roche, of Chicago, he asked that his name not be presented, as Republicans appeared to favor President Harrison, and "We must have harmony in our ranks."⁴³ A New England paper, reflected upon Cullom's withdrawal, and referred to the Illinois Senator as "Old Man-Afraid-if-his-Shadow Cullom."⁴⁴ A friend protested Cullom's

³⁹ *St. Paul Globe*, as quoted in the *Illinois State Journal*, Feb. 12, 1892.

⁴⁰ C. B. Smith to Cullom, Feb. 26, 1892. Cullom Papers.

⁴¹ Cannon to Cullom, March 2, 1892. Cullom Papers.

⁴² Tanner to Cullom, March 21, 1892. Cullom Papers.

⁴³ *Washington Post*, March 31, 1892.

⁴⁴ *Manchester [N. H.] Press*, 1892 (Undated clipping in Cullom Papers).

decision, "First we find you a candidate for President and ourselves breaking our necks to secure delegates . . . and in the midst of the fight we are informed that you have laid down and thrown your influence to Harrison."⁴⁵

Blaine's friends remained active, but John R. Tanner was correct with his observation that the Blaine forces "have polyfoxed [*sic*] too long, and in my opinion Harrison will go in."⁴⁶ The view that Blaine was a contender persisted in some quarters. "Unless he dies before the convention meets Secretary Blaine will be nominated, . . . and become the next President of the United States," said a prominent official in the State Department.⁴⁷ Blaine's sensational resignation from Harrison's cabinet did enable his friends to endanger Harrison's chances, but the President's group had the situation well in hand and Blaine's dramatic bid proved futile.⁴⁸

The year 1892 was a Democratic year. Grover Cleveland was elected for a second time. In Illinois, the Republicans were weakened by the fact that Governor Fifer had signed a compulsory education law which proved very unpopular in some quarters.⁴⁹

Even in 1896 Senator Cullom persisted with his hopeless ambition to be the presidential nominee. But his letter to Fifer early in the year was tinged with bitterness, "I see that Harrison has pulled out of the race, which means that McKinley and his horde of clackers [*sic*] will pick up Indiana if they can." If Cullom had been blessed with a Mark Hanna to engineer his campaign he might very well have won the presidency. By 1896 William McKinley's star had risen and Senator Cullom was destined to continue his distinguished career in the United States Senate.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Cicero J. Lindly to Cullom, April 22, 1892. Cullom Papers.

⁴⁶ Tanner to Cullom, May 10, 1892. Cullom Papers.

⁴⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, June 2, 1892.

⁴⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, June 5, 9, 10, 1892.

⁴⁹ Fifer to W.C.S. Rhea, Jan. 22, 1892. Fifer Papers.

⁵⁰ Cullom to Fifer, Feb. 4, 1896. Fifer Papers.

THE DESTRUCTION OF AN EARLY ILLINOIS LIBRARY

BY JOHN T. FLANAGAN

ON APRIL 9, 1852 John Mason Peck wrote a letter to his old friend and fellow evangelist John Russell inquiring about certain engravings and enclosures which Peck had previously mailed for the purpose of facilitating the preparation of a series of articles for a Baptist periodical. In the course of his letter he gently castigated Russell for not having replied earlier and then asked a question:

Have you heard that Hon. John Reynolds has "*The Pioneer History of Illinois*" in press? A 12 mo of about 300 pp. It will do the old fellow good credit. He closes with 1818. By special request I have given a chapter concerning the religious operations, pioneer preachers &c. He uses my [word illegible], and other matter copiously, for which he gives due credit. The late Gov. Carlin wrote him a long communication of his own early history before his decease. So you see we are becoming quite a "literary" people in this quarter.¹

John Reynolds, governor of Illinois from 1830 to 1834, published his pioneer history of the state at Belleville in 1852. It was a miscellaneous and loosely written work, occasionally vivid and having the authority of personal observation, but it

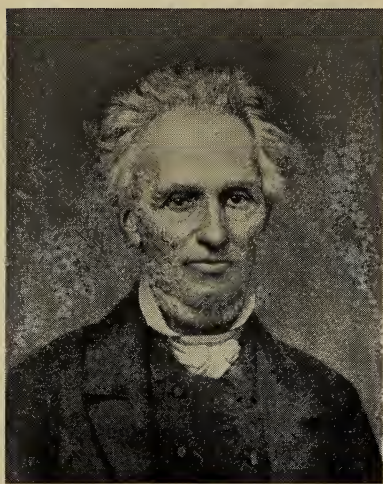
¹ John Mason Peck to John Russell, April 9, 1852. Letter in possession of Mrs. Howard Hobson, Greenfield, Ill., and printed with her permission.

John T. Flanagan is a professor of English at the University of Illinois. He is the author of James Hall, Literary Pioneer of the Ohio Valley (c. 1941) and editor of America Is West, an Anthology of Middlewestern Life and Literature (1945). He has also been a frequent contributor of articles to this Journal.

was also somewhat unreliable. One of the better sections was chapter six, in which John Mason Peck dealt with morals and religion in early Illinois.

Where Reynolds was imperfectly educated and intellectually somewhat naïve, Peck was a good deal of a scholar. A Baptist missionary who had ranged widely through Missouri and Illinois, he was known for his indefatigable zeal in promoting temperance, education, and religion. He not only preached as an itinerant evangelist, but he edited religious papers, sponsored church conferences, and raised money for Baptist educational and theological schools. It was Peck who was instrumental in persuading the Boston physician Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff to contribute \$10,000 to the struggling institution at Alton, Illinois, which has ever since been known as Shurtleff College.²

A prolific writer during most of his life, Peck contributed to denominational periodicals in Missouri, Illinois, and the



JOHN MASON PECK

East, and edited several of the better gazetteers and emigrant guides. His *Gazetteer of Illinois*, originally published in 1834 but revised and reissued in 1837, is still a readable and informative book. He wrote biographies of Daniel Boone and of the Baptist clergyman John Clark, and in 1850 he brought out a revised edition of James H. Perkins' *Annals of the West*. But the one book which he was most eager to write and which probably no one in Illi-

² In a letter to Spencer Russell, May 10, 1847, Peck tells some of the details of the gift of Dr. Shurtleff to the college named after him and also reveals some of the benefactor's early life. Spencer Russell was the son of John Russell and a student at Shurtleff at the time. Letter in possession of Mrs. Howard Hobson.

nois in the 1850's was better equipped to write than he was never completed. As a matter of fact, it was probably never even begun.

For many years Peck had collected material for what he occasionally called his work on the "Moral Progress of the Great Central Valley of the Western World."³ In order to make this book definitive he had gathered together an impressive library of primary sources: reports, tracts, sermons, statutes, pamphlets, volumes of biography and reminiscence, newspaper files, runs of denominational serials. Moreover, he kept careful records of his correspondence. All of this material was stored in the old seminary building at Rock Spring, Illinois, and collectively it constituted probably the most important private library in the state at that time. On Thursday, November 18, 1852, catastrophe struck. Repairs were being made to the doors and windows of the edifice, and a fire kindled in the chimney spread to the chips and shavings lying around. In a short time much of the interior was gutted, and many of the books and papers that were not destroyed completely were charred and made useless.

At the time of the conflagration Peck was not in the best of health, and the shock was great. But he continued his ordinary duties, even attempted to pursue his writing career as the following letter suggests,⁴ made another trip through the East soliciting money and striving to replace some of the lost material, and accepted temporarily a call to the pastorate of a Baptist church in Covington, Kentucky. His health failed rapidly, however, and his attempts to resume work on his great project were only sporadic. He died in 1858.

A few days after the fire which destroyed his library Peck wrote to John Russell, ostensibly about a literary matter in

³ Rufus Babcock, ed., *Forty Years of Pioneer Life, Memoir of John Mason Peck D.D.* (Philadelphia, 1864), 349.

⁴ John Mason Peck to John Russell, Nov. 22, 1852. Letter in possession of Mrs. Howard Hobson. For other correspondence between Peck and Russell see John T. Flanagan, ed., "Letters by John Mason Peck," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Autumn, 1954), Vol. XLVII, pp. 264-99.

which both were involved but basically, no doubt, to inform his old friend of the loss he had suffered. The letter gives no exact inventory of the library, and probably Peck never did have a catalogue of his literary materials. But he does suggest quite clearly the variety and scope of his collection and certainly explains indirectly why his ambitious book on the moral and religious culture of Illinois was never written. In the process he sheds considerable light on the nature of what must have been one of the most valuable private libraries collected in the Mississippi Valley before the Civil War.

ROCK SPRING, (LEBANON P. O.) ILL. NOV. 22, 1852
DEAR BRO. RUSSELL,

There is a *last* to every thing sublunary, and I have seen the *last* of *Rock Spring Seminary*, as probably the papers have told you. Last Thursday, between nine and ten oclock A.M. it vanished in flame and smoke! And with it is gone a large part of my valuable gatherings in files of Newspapers, Periodicals & valuable pamphlets, of several thousand volumes,—such a collection as never was seen in the Mississippi Valley and I doubt will never be seen again.

I have still, however, some of the most indispensable materials in my projected labors, with all my Journals, and manuscript books and papers, and also all my letter correspondence for more than forty years safe; that being in cases at my dwelling house. Such volumes as I had occasion for daily reference are here. My sons saved a part of my library on shelves, throwing the books from the windows of the second story, which (did you ever hear the like) they dashed out, frames, sash and all, with their feet! But many of the books are damaged, covers off, and numerous sets broken. Some 300 or 400 volumes were burnt on the ground, before we could remove them from the building.

The wind was strong from N.W. and the doors & windows out of the lower story, it raged furiously and did its work

rapidly. I have just written a sketch of its history, its usefulness, & changes, with a portraiture of *common* (!) schools in Mo. & Ill. when I first traveled the country, after my arrival in 1818 & 1819, for the *Christian Watchman and Reflector* of Boston. In it I have immortalized your name as one of the pioneer teachers of Missouri. I think of giving the substance of it and some more in detail, in the "*Watchman of the Prairies*" for the edification of the present Baptist generation in Illinois, where you may see it.⁵

I have been repairing the old building and fitting it up for my family residence that I might sell my property on the road,—put on new roof & weather boarding, built a north back of the east wing, and a portico in front, & put in new window & door frames where needed. I had new doors made, and a pile of lumber in it for partitions & other work.

My son Henry had just commenced casing the doors & windows in the lower story, and on Thursday morning it was cold and he made a very small fire in the chimney, with chips and blocks and kept a row of bricks & stones around the hearth to protect from danger. He was absent but a short time at my house after a hammer, and when he returned found the fire enkindled among shavings and door and window facings in the corner of the room. An unlucky spark must have been blown there by the wind. He gave the alarm & James and a Deutschman ran from the field; I saw the smoke and ran from my house. All they could do was to throw out books from the shelves of the library which occupied a room 16 feet by 20 in the north end of the main building above. In the room south & the chambers of the two wings I had some 25 or 30 boxes of books, papers periodicals & pamphlets, &c besides the shelves & floors loaded—

All my collections of minerals, with their localities marked, a cabinet of shells, and many curiosities are lost. A Burmese

⁵ *Watchman of the Prairies* was a Baptist newspaper published in Chicago from 1847 to 1853.

Idol, (Gaudama) of fine marble & gilt, is preserved but black as Tony. Of my periodicals I had the "*Baptist Magazine*" (with exception of 2 or 3 Nos) from its commencement by Dr Baldwin in 1802—more than 40 volumes *Niles Register*, Duff Green's *Telegraph & Appendix*, a full series—*Congressional Globes & Appendix* for 10 or 12 years, Judge Hall's "*Illinois*" and "*Western*" Magazines complete files—12 vols of the "*American Museum*" published by Matthew Carey towards the close of the last century—(bound) I see only 3 vols. left⁶—Various other periodicals, complete sets—The Sunday School, Tract, Bible & other periodicals and Reports—Annual Reports of nearly every philanthropic and benevolent society in the U. S. and some in England—Annual Reports of the Baptist Foreign Mission and Convention from the first—a complete file of the Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, nearly all the Reports of the American Colonization Society—all gone! These are only a few that occur to my recollection. All my files of papers containing my own editorials are gone & can never be replaced. I had files unbound of the *Christian Watchman*, & *Boston Recorder*, from the first, and files of all my exchange papers. One volume (bound) of the *Columbian Star* for 3 years, I saved—the others gone. The old *Missouri Gazette* for 1818, 1819, 1820, and the *Republican* from the first, except 2 or 3 last years which were at my house.⁷ But it is vain "to cry over spilt milk," as

⁶ The various periodicals referred to in this paragraph suggest the richness and scope of Peck's library. The *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* was published in Boston from 1803 to 1816 and then was superseded by the *American Baptist Magazine*. *Niles' National Register* ran through seventy-six volumes in Philadelphia from 1811 to 1849. Duff Green edited his *United States' Telegraph* in Washington from 1825 to 1837 and was subsequently associated with various other periodicals. James Hall began his *Illinois Monthly Magazine* at Vandalia in 1830 and continued it at Cincinnati under the title of *Western Monthly Magazine* until 1836. Matthew Carey edited his *American Museum*; or, *Universal Magazine* at Philadelphia from 1787 to 1792; apparently Peck had owned a complete file.

⁷ The *Christian Watchman* was issued at Boston from 1819 to 1848. The *Congregationalist*, later known as the *Congregationalist and Boston Recorder*, was published in nineteen volumes from 1849 to 1867. The *Columbian Star* appeared in Washington from 1822 to 1829. The famous *Missouri Gazette* was begun at St. Louis by Joseph Charless in 1808. In 1822 his son Edward Charless published it as the *Missouri Republican* and under other editors it survived until the twentieth century.

it is the ravages of fire. Many of my papers and some of my books, pamphlets, and periodicals, I know not whether there is a duplicate in the world. I seriously question if a complete file of the "*Pioneer*" can be found. The first volume that Green printed is hopelessly lost.⁸ Have you any files of my papers?

Independent of the rarity of a part of the collections, my loss in cash value cannot be less than \$5000—I have an insurance [*sic*] of \$600 on the library & \$100 on the building which I hope to receive—I have expended 150 on the building recently, & \$100 in 1847 in fitting up my library room.

Have you forgotten the latin article I sent you Sept. 29, for a translation? If you have not time, or cannot make it out, please return it—I had some choice Greek, Hebrew, latin & French works which I have not seen but cannot now tell what books are missing and what saved, as they are in a pile in my chamber all in confusion & some with covers torn off.

I had a few books, equal to a small country library, at my house. Amongst them are your volumes, "Magnalia," untouched.

I am fearful I shall now not be able to prepare my greatest & best work projected—"The Moral Progress of the Mississippi Valley" for lack of materials. Does anybody take the *Christian Review*⁹ in your range?

If so, look in the October No. for an article of mine.

Write—Write—Yours fraternally,

J. M. PECK.

[Along the left margin] *Shiloh* P. O. is defunct¹⁰—Address me hereafter to *Lebanon*.

⁸ *The Pioneer*, edited by Peck and published by the Rev. Thomas P. Green, appeared for the first time on April 25, 1829 at Rock Spring. Despite negligible financial support it struggled along and was continued at Upper Alton in 1836 as the *Western Pioneer and Baptist Standard Bearer*. See Babcock, ed., *Forty Years*. 235-40, 269-70.

⁹ *The Christian Review* was published at Boston, 1836-1842.

¹⁰ The post office at Rock Spring was established in 1827 with Peck as postmaster. The name was changed to Shiloh in 1850 and in 1854 it was transferred to O'Fallon Depot, now O'Fallon.

CHICAGO AND THE WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY IN 1897

BY E. P. PANAGOPOULOS

FOR CHICAGOANS the spring of 1897 was full of exciting events. In the municipal election the sons¹ of four prominent citizens were obstinately contesting for the city mayoral post. There was the scandal of the wrecking of the Globe Savings Bank, and residents of the city's South Side were sent scurrying almost daily by gangster gun battles. Although the world's heavyweight pugilistic championship was contested in Carson City, Nevada, between Bob Fitzsimmons and Jim Corbett, the event commanded more than the usual amount of newspaper space in the Windy City. It seems that these happenings would have absorbed all of the interest of Chicago's citizenry, but somehow international developments also attracted their attention. The activities in Cuba of "Butcher" Weyler, and McKinley's possible attitude toward Spain were in central focus. Soon the fear of a threatened war in the Transvaal was added, and when hostilities broke out between Greece and Turkey, Chicagoans expressed interest in an incident that was taking place more than seven thousand miles away.

¹ Nathaniel C. Sears, Washington Hesing, John M. Harlan, and the winner, Carter H. Harrison, Jr.

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There, on the other side of the globe, a brief war was fought, lasting from mid-April to mid-May, 1897. Instigated by a powerful, chauvinistic Greek organization, the National Society, the war in its short course left Greece utterly defeated and economically ruined.

In addition to her human and material losses, Greece was obliged to pay Turkey an indemnity of £4,000,000 and, even more humiliating, an International Financial Commission was established in Athens taking over the management of the monopolies of the Greek government and the administration of the dues of the port of Piraeus, so that the payment of an old national debt and the above indemnity would be guaranteed. Fifty years later, the consequences of this war were still felt on the economic life of Greece.²

As soon as the war began, it provoked in the United States a strong wave of sympathy for Greece, and the pattern set by the philhellenic movement during the Greek Revolution of 1821 was repeated.³ Clergymen and scholars, liberals and humanitarians, civic leaders and ordinary citizens all denounced the attack of the "Crescent" on the "Cross," the cruelty of the "infidels" toward the "Christians," and the Oriental barbarism against "the descendants of Homer and Socrates."

The United States government, as it had done seventy-six years before, again remained neutral. Secretary of State John Sherman, in anticipation of the coming conflict, had stated on April 2, 1897, fifteen days before the outbreak of the

² On the war of 1897 between Greece and Turkey see E. Driault and M. Lheritier, *Histoire Diplomatique de la Grèce* . . . (Paris, 1926), IV: 347-404; C. Paparregopoulos and P. Carolides, *History of the Greek Nation* [in Greek] (Athens, 1932), VI: 69-104; N. Svoronos, *Histoire de la Grèce Moderne* (Paris, 1953), 84-85; E. S. Foster, *A Short History of Modern Greece* (London, 1946), 30-33; General A. Mazarakis-Ainian, *Memoirs* [in Greek] (Athens, 1948), 19-47.

³ For the American reaction toward the Greek Revolution of 1821, see E. M. Earle, "American Interest in the Greek Cause, 1821-1827," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXXIII (Oct., 1927), 44-63; T. Vagenas and E. Demetracopoulou, *American Philhellenes Volunteers in 1821* [in Greek] (Athens, 1949); L. S. Stavrianos, "The United States and Greece," *Essays in History and International Relations in Honor of George Hubbard Blakeslee* (Worcester, Mass., 1949), 36-39; Douglas Dakin, *British and American Philhellenes during the War of Greek Independence, 1821-1833* (Thessaloniki, 1955).

war, that the American policy would be to keep entirely clear of the Turco-Grecian question, unless by some unfortunate accident the interests of this country were involved. In that event, he stated, the administration would probably adopt a policy of action.⁴ It was, however, a friendly neutrality that encouraged the Greeks morally and permitted relief and other activities of sympathy in the United States.

Moreover, a series of diplomatic incidents caused friction between the American government and Turkey. The Sultan, for instance, refused to recognize the appointed American consuls at Erzurum and Harput, and the United States government announced that the former Secretary of State, John W. Foster, would be sent to Turkey as a special envoy with the rank of ambassador to secure from the Sultan payment for the damages inflicted on American property during the suppression of the Armenian uprisings in 1895.⁵ Also, both the President and the Secretaries John Sherman and John D. Long issued statements declaring that, in order to protect American interests in Constantinople, the dispatch to Turkish waters of the cruiser *Cincinnati* had been ordered,⁶ and Sherman revealed that the government had approved of the American legation's taking care of Greek citizens in Constantinople.⁷

This attitude of the American government was supplemented by resolutions offering sympathy to Greece introduced in the Senate by Senator William V. Allen of Nebraska⁸ and in the House by Representative James G. Maguire of Cali-

⁴ *New York Herald*, April 2, 1897; *New York Times*, April 19, 1897. See also *Post Records, United States Legation at Athens*, 1893-1902, Documents No. 114, 115, 116, 117, 122, 124, 125, and *Dispatches to the Department of State, Greece*, vol. 12, Documents dated Sept. 21, 25, Oct. 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 27, Nov. 23, Dec. 9, 1897, and Jan. 7, 1898. Deposited in the National Archives.

⁵ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 7, 1897. (Hereafter *Chicago Tribune*.) For a description of the damages done by the Turks during these uprisings to American property, see U. S. Dept. of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* . . . 1897 (Washington, D. C., 1898), 570-82.

⁶ *New York Herald*, April 19, 1897.

⁷ *Ibid.*, April 19, 1897. The press also published a dispatch from London that a battery of American machine guns of the latest pattern had been sent secretly to Constantinople and placed in position at the Yidiz Kiosk eventually to protect American interests. *New York Times*, April 19, 1897.

⁸ *Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., 1078.

fornia.⁹ Though no action was taken on them, these were considered by the Greeks as friendly expressions. Real help for Greece, however, came from the American people who reacted in a more vigorous and practical way.

In most of the large cities drives were organized for relief funds and for the enlistment of volunteers in the Greek army.¹⁰ Ministers of various denominations urged their parishioners to express their sympathy for fighting Christians.¹¹ Doctors and nurses were recruited for the Greek army.¹² The President of the American Red Cross, Clara Barton, arranged to aid the Greek Red Cross.¹³ Student and women's organizations, headed by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, were active in collecting money.¹⁴ And the Tennessee Centennial Exposition invited the King of Greece to come for the dedication of Nashville's Parthenon, because this edifice had been constructed just as the "Parthenon stood on the Acropolis of Athens, when it was received from the hands of Ictinus and Pheidias, and as it stood before its destruction by the Turks."¹⁵

In Texas, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey groups of volunteers were formed, headed mostly by former officers of the National Guard of those states,¹⁶ and from the port of New York hundreds of young men were continuously leaving for Greece. The majority of these men were of Greek descent, but also several Americans of different national backgrounds joined them. In Greece they were received with great enthusiasm—parades in the streets of Athens with American and

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1131. Individually, several political figures expressed their sympathy for Greece, as did the Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Robert R. Hill, who stated that "the sympathy of our people will be with the Greeks in this struggle." *Chicago Evening Journal*, April 19, 1897.

¹⁰ *New York Times*, April 2, 1897; *New York Herald*, April 7, 1897.

¹¹ *New York Times*, April 24, 26, 1897.

¹² *New York Herald*, April 9, 23, 1897; *New York Times*, May 8, 1897; *Chicago Tribune*, April 8, 23, 27, May 2, 9, 1897.

¹³ *New York Herald*, May 4, 1897.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, April 24, 26, May 3, 1897; *Chicago Tribune*, April 22, 1897.

¹⁵ *New York Times*, April 9, 1897.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, April 20, 24, 1897; *Chicago Tribune*, April 27, May 9, 1897; *New York Herald*, May 5, 1897.

Greek flags, speeches and welcoming editorials in the Greek press hailed every arrival from the United States.¹⁷ In no other city, however, was the American reaction toward this remote and brief war so sympathetic as in Chicago. Public opinion was stirred by warm pro-Hellenic editorials, ballads and sensational headlines, such as "Mussulmans Desecrate Cemeteries—Turkish Authorities Permit Them to Dig Up Coffins and Steal Valuables Buried with Dead" or "Warships Bombarded Christians."¹⁸ Most Chicagoans shared the opinion of "Bob" Ingersoll who, being at that time in Chicago to lecture on "Truth," abandoned for a moment his agnosticism and with his characteristic oratorical manner commented as follows on the Greek situation:

I am on the side of the Greeks. These islands seem almost sacred to me. Whenever I hear the word Greek I think of Zeno and Epicurus, of Aeschylus and Socrates, of poets, sculptors, and philosophers, of all that is subtle, beautiful, heroic, and free; and so I am on the side of the Greeks. Besides I have no love for the Turk. He is a cruel slave. . . . He has in him no seeds of civilization. He cannot govern himself, much less others. He is a robber, and I want his blood-daubed hands taken from the white throat of Greece. The Great Powers are looking out for themselves. They are selfish as hunger, as famine. They have no sympathy.¹⁹

The *Chicago Tribune*, commenting on the philhellenic attitude of "millions of people in this country," explained that this was "a sentiment which has become a passion in the blood of free men everywhere, and which is to a large extent a product of the Homeric poems."

This sentiment was practically expressed by the Chicagoans through generous contributions to relief drives, participation in various meetings and especially in a mass gathering held on April 29, at Central Music Hall, over which Mayor Carter H. Harrison presided, and through a significant number

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, April 29, 1897; *Times* [in Greek] of Athens, Greece, April 2, May 9, 1897.

¹⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, March 9, 27, 1897.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, March 7, 1897.

of volunteers.²⁰ The local Committee for Greek Relief was "deluged with applications," especially from physicians and nurses who were willing to pay their own transportation and asked to be sent for services in field hospitals of Greece.²¹

Chicagoans of non-Greek origin made arrangements to leave through the city's Committee or through private channels, paying their own expenses. Such was the case of three teen-agers from the city, James F. O'Neill, Louis A. Field and George P. McCarthy who, without the knowledge of their parents, went to New York, bought tickets and left on May 1 on the liner *La Gascogne*. They were with twenty-two other young Americans from Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and other midwestern cities, and all of them joined several hundred Greek volunteers leaving on the same liner. Before their departure they stated that they had read in their home towns ". . . of the struggle of the Cross against the Crescent and determined to enlist with Greek patriots."²²

The bulk of volunteers naturally came from the Greek community. Favorable news about the war was received with great enthusiasm by its members. "Bananas rotted in their stalks and figs lay unpacked in their baskets, while their vendors turned their backs on might-be-buyers and pored over the extra editions of the afternoon papers and slapped each other on the back and said 'Zeto! Zeto!' [Hurrah! Hurrah!]"²³ Hundreds sold their wagons and horses, even burned their pushcarts, left their small businesses and started for the old country.

The center of activities was the old Greek Orthodox church on the third floor of a wholesale building on Kinzie Street near Clark. The priest, the Rev. Peter Phiambolis, was one of the leaders who inspired patriotic fervor in the community. He was helped by the six Greek societies then in

²⁰ *Ibid.*, April 30, 1897.

²¹ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1897.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, April 20, 1897.

existence in Chicago and by numerous auxiliary committees.

Approximately eight hundred Greeks left in groups for Greece and in every case their departure was accompanied by religious ceremonies, parades, and enthusiastic outbursts of patriotism. Many of these volunteers, however, were quite disappointed when they arrived in Athens. They had expected to find everybody fighting at the front. Instead, they were surprised to see that life there was going on as usual and that many physically able men were out of the army.²⁴ The volunteers were disillusioned and less than half of them joined the Greek forces.²⁵

Another national group that helped the Greek cause was the Armenian community of Chicago. The sufferings and mass slaughtering of their compatriots by the Turks were very fresh in their minds, and this war appeared as an opportunity to show how they felt toward the oppressors of their dear country. A great number of them left to fight in Greece, among them the minister of the Armenian church of Chicago, the Rev. T. B. Khugian.²⁶ Others were active in collecting money, organizing meetings and recruiting volunteers. Two of them, Y. Krecorian and Dr. H. D. Garabetyan, distinguished themselves as powerful orators. In their appeals they expressed a passionate hatred for the Ottoman Empire. "The best place for the unspeakable Turk," according to Garabetyan, was "in the bottom of the Atlantic, with the rock of Gibraltar placed upon him to keep him there." This statement at a mass meeting provoked a storm of applause.²⁷

Clergymen and religious groups of the city were also active, and on April 26, a meeting of the Congregational ministers of Chicago condemned Turkey and applauded the Greeks

²⁴ According to Demosthenes Papantoniou, of Dara, Arcadia, Greece, in an interview with the author. He is one of the few of these men still alive and now resides at 718 Cornelia St., Chicago.

²⁵ For the activities of the Greeks in Chicago see the Chicago press from March 7 to May 20, especially the *Chicago Tribune* of March 8, April 18, 20, 23, 24, 26, 1897.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, April 20, 27, 1897.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, April 24, 1897.

for their "heroic fight for liberty."²⁸ At this assembly speeches were made, resolutions read and adopted, and money collected.

Students and scholars in their turn did not remain inactive. The initiative was taken at the University of Chicago where, on April 23, a spectacular meeting was organized in the Kent Theater at which more than four hundred students, many professors, and about fifty Greeks who were ready to leave for their country, were present. The main speakers were Professors John Merle Coulter, Frank Bigelow Tarbell and William Gardner Hale. In the midst of great enthusiasm resolutions were taken and the following cablegram, drawn by Professor Coulter, was sent to the University of Athens: "The University of Chicago sends heartfelt sympathy to her sister University of Athens in her struggle for liberty and civilization." President William Rainey Harper and Professors Edward Capps, Harry Pratt Judson, Oliver J. Thatcher, Oscar L. Triggs and others became members of various committees to aid the Greek cause. At the same meeting about \$150 was collected.²⁹

Moreover, the students of the University started a movement to assist financially volunteers who wished to go to Greece. The Greek letter societies named Delta Kappa Epsilon as the co-ordinator of the drive among college fraternities on a national scale, and Beta Theta Pi was one of the first to appoint a committee for this purpose.³⁰

Many businessmen, industrialists and financiers, however, thought they sensed a chance for profit. The moment the news about the war, accompanied by a flood of foreign orders for grain, arrived in New York, great excitement was noted in the wheat pit of the New York Produce Exchange. Heavy purchases started and the price of wheat jumped four cents a bushel within the first two hours. By the end of the day six to seven million bushels had been sold. The excitement im-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1897.

²⁹ *University of Chicago Weekly*, Vol. V, No. 29 (April 29, 1897), 289.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 33 (May 27, 1897), 334.

mediately spread to the Midwest and the same advance in wheat prices took place in Chicago and St. Louis.³¹

In general, an atmosphere of financial optimism prevailed because of the widespread impression that the war would soon expand over the whole continent and the world would depend for all kinds of provisions on the United States. There was no doubt about gains in the grain market, where profits had already been made during the first day of the war. The wheat boom noted during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and the current inability of Argentina, India and Russia to supply Europe with wheat, because of crop failures and domestic needs, seemed to guarantee a great demand for American grains. This assurance, of course, could affect the prices of various other products, and thus the opinion was formed that this war would bring a great prosperity in the United States.

In vain, experts in international affairs tried to warn that this conflict between two agricultural countries, of which Turkey alone exported yearly cereals valued at \$11,000,000, could not have an effect on the world market, that the interest of the Great Powers was to localize this war, and that the present boom was not a reflection of the actual situation in the Levant.³² Nevertheless the businessmen had their own optimistic theories, manifested in the statements of some of the most distinguished among them in the Chicago area.

Thus, the president of the Chicago Board of Trade, William T. Baker, expressed his confidence that the farmers would prosper, and remarked that while other countries fight, "America, as the chief peace country of the world, always reaps an advantage from its nonbarbarous habits whenever such foreign complications arise." Albert M. Day, of Charles Counselman and Company, thought that not only the grain but "all the markets [would be] active and excited." He predicted that the price of wheat would rise and that "other grains will gain

³¹ *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1897.

³² *New York Times*, April 20, 1897.

strength in sympathy with wheat, and so with all sorts of provisions." G. M. Charles, manager of the Chicago O'Neil Company, maintained that this war would have an immediate effect on the speculative market. With him agreed W. C. Thorne, of Montgomery Ward and Company, who added that "if there is anything of a war the result will be to stimulate business in all lines." George D. Kirkham of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company expressed the same idea in a clearer way. He stated that "the conditions that bring loss of life and property in the countries affected, will result in greater prosperity to the producing classes of America."³³ J. W. Gates, president of the Illinois Steel Company, asserted that the prosperity of the American farmer would ultimately be good for the railroads of the country. In case the war became general "in the iron and steel trade, if it has any effect, it will be to advance prices. It will cut the Mediterranean commerce in Spanish ores, and to that extent benefit American ores." Colonel H. L. Turner foresaw a demand for American produce and especially for arms and ammunition. He added that "the chief benefit to America will be that it will take the attention of the people away from their own troubles. They are suffering now mostly from nursing their real or fancied grievances." The meat packers were skeptical about great profits because they did not expect an expansion of the war. George F. Swift believed that the farmers would be the ones to profit and their prosperity, of course, would have its beneficial consequences for all Americans. John Cudahy thought that only if this war led to a greater conflict the general market would become stronger because "then they would all have to depend on Chicago." And with him agreed Philip D. Armour, Jr. In short, the opinion of the Chicago industrial world was better expressed by Adolph Kraus who, in a realistic and prophetic manner, stated that "any foreign war is bound to have a beneficial effect upon this country, and the greater the war the

³³ *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1897.

greater the benefit, for the greater will be the demand of our products.”³⁴

It was the first time that such a reaction toward Greek affairs was noted in Chicago. The sympathy toward suffering Christians, the admiration for Greece as the cradle of classical civilization, and the romantic flavor, too, were reminiscent of the American attitude during the Greek Revolution of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire.

Yet, by the end of the nineteenth century, new elements had been added to the above pattern of reactions and they reflected the new synthesis of the city's population, as well as its growth and significance in national and international affairs. The post-bellum arrivals of Greeks and Armenians, with their meetings, drives and agitation, were in a position to influence public opinion, and their activities occupied a large amount of space in Chicago's press.

More attention, however, should be given to the statements of Chicago's industrial, financial and business leaders. These statements were characterized by an adolescent naïveté and sincerity but they manifest at the same time a deep concern with foreign affairs, and they express a developing consciousness of Chicagoans that not only their country, but the Midwest and particularly Chicago could play a dramatic role in world affairs. Chicago decidedly had come of age.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, April 19, 1897.

SPELLING BOTHERED LINCOLN, TOO

BY CHARLES H. COLEMAN

THE EMANCIPATOR misspelled "emancipation." He spelled it "immancipation" in 1859. Twice inaugurated President of the United States, in his hand-written draft of the immortal Second Inaugural, Lincoln wrote "inaugeral." A determined and outspoken opponent of the extension of slavery into the territories of the United States, Lincoln wrote both "teritory" and "terrtory." The champion of freedom for people of African descent, in one document he wrote "Affrican." A distinguished member of the legal profession, Lincoln's spelling of legal terms included, at times, both "colateral" and "colatateral" for collateral, "prosscution" and "prosscutor," "docketted" and "guarranty." Some of Lincoln's spelling slips have a phonetic sound (he once spelled it "phoenetic") and hint at his prounciation. "Almanic" for almanac, "inaugeration," "manouvered" and "oppertunity" are examples. A few odd spellings used by Lincoln include "disclosiers," "hough" for hoof and "portaguse" for Portuguese.

Lincoln was self-educated since, as a child and youth in Kentucky and Indiana, he attended five terms of school which

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probably averaged not over two months each. In 1860 he wrote, in the third person, that "A. now thinks that the aggregate of all his schooling did not amount to one year."¹ When asked to contribute a short autobiographical sketch for the *Dictionary of Congress* he described his education as "defective."² In 1859 he wrote, in his autobiography for Jesse W. Fell, that the additions to his education as an adult had been "picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity."³

Lincoln was a voracious, retentive and highly selective reader. The Bible, books on mathematics, history and biography, the poetry of Burns and the plays of Shakespeare, together with every law book that he could get his hands on, gave him a literary background that went far to shape his prose style and to give him a notable vocabulary. The fact that he misspelled some words is of much less significance than the fact that he used them, and used them correctly. Despite lapses in spelling, Lincoln made few mistakes in grammar. He had a "feel" for words and sentence structure equaled by few of our public men. Although not always precise in spelling, he had an uncanny precision in the choice of words.

While Lincoln had little formal schooling, his education was "progressive" in the best sense of that much abused word. His learning was the result of what present-day educators call a "felt need" and which Lincoln called the "pressure of necessity." His "student motivation" was high. His desire to advance in his profession provided a central theme around which his intellectual interests centered. The law was the "core" of his "curriculum."

A detailed check of Abraham Lincoln's spelling idiosyncracies has been made possible by the publication in 1953 of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* by Rutgers University Press. This set in eight volumes excluding the index was

¹ *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association ed., New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), IV: 62.

² *Collected Works*, II: 459.

³ *Collected Works*, III: 511.

the scholarly achievement of the Abraham Lincoln Association. Only those letters and documents which have been preserved in Lincoln's handwriting (as noted by the editors, Roy P. Basler, Marion D. Pratt and Lloyd Dunlap) have been used in making this check. Dr. Basler points out in the foreword to the first volume (p. x) that in printing letters and documents in Lincoln's handwriting, "Incorrect and variant spellings have been reproduced as they appear."

In order to avoid counting as errors spellings which have changed in the past century, Lincoln's slips were checked against two dictionaries published in this country in 1847 and 1849. Among the now obsolete spellings used by Lincoln at times, but which are not counted as errors in the spelling check, are "deposite," "expençe," "offence," "prairy" and "waggon." In British usage some of these are correct today.

Nor are Lincoln's misspellings of geographical place names included as errors. He persisted in writing "Fort Sumpter." This is an error common to succeeding generations of college students. To Lincoln, the capital of Maryland was "Anapolis," while the first great battle of the Civil War was fought at "Mannassas" rather than at Manassas.

During the period 1830-1865, from the age twenty-one to his death, Lincoln misspelled a total of 268 different words, eleven of them in two different ways. In twenty-one cases or more the errors obviously were mere slips of the pen. Among these are "christain," "couisin" (for cousin), "democcracy," "eighth," "impriety" (for impropriety), "lieutent," "relection," "selected" and "straght." Probably many more were caused by haste rather than by lack of knowledge. Many of the words Lincoln misspelled once or a few times he spelled correctly on other occasions. Difficulty in deciphering his penmanship (usually very legible) may account for some misspellings appearing on the printed page. Typographical errors may be responsible for a few.

Subtracting the twenty-one obvious slips of the pen, the

I never saw him, or corresponded with him; so that a letter directly from to him; would run a great hazzard doing harm to both you and me.

LINCOLN'S MISSPELLING OF "HAZARD"

On October 17, 1859, Lincoln wrote to his friend Mark W. Delahay rejecting the latter's request for "a line in your [his] favor" to General James H. Lane. This excerpt from his letter reads, "I never saw him, or corresponded with him; so that a letter directly from me to him, would run a great *hazzard* of doing harm to both you and me."

number of errors is reduced to 247. There are fifty-four cases where the misspellings were of words derived from words already counted as errors, such as "alledged" in addition to "alledge." Eliminating these from the total count leaves 193. Surviving letters and documents in Lincoln's handwriting from 1830 to March 1, 1837, the date of his admission to the bar, contain twenty-six spelling errors. Of these, eleven were errors he did not repeat after that date. Subtracting these from the total, it can be said that during the twenty-eight years of his professional and political career, Abraham Lincoln misspelled, in surviving autograph documents, a total of 182 different words, or an average of about one every two months.

Considering the great volume of letters and documents in his handwriting involved in this tabulation, it is clear that we are not justified in calling Abraham Lincoln a poor speller, although at times he was a careless one. He was more prone to make slips in personal correspondence than in official documents. His spelling improved steadily over the years. As his vocabulary widened his spelling errors involved but few of the added words. For the year 1862, his first calendar year as

President, there are in *The Collected Works* a total of 667 letters and other documents printed from originals, photo-static copies or facsimilies in his handwriting.

There follows a list of the words misspelled by Abraham Lincoln from 1830 to his death as shown by a check of the eight volumes of *The Collected Works*. The date or dates after each word show when the errors occurred. The compiler may have missed a few. Every teacher will recognize many familiar errors in this list. The words that bothered Lincoln a century ago continue to trip up high school and college students today:

abberations 1841	apparant 1850, 1855, 1859, 1860,
accademy 1860	1863, 1864
acceeding 1846	apparently 1841, 1848, 1860,
accessible 1848, 1853, 1863, 1864	1862, 1863, 1864
accompaniements 1858	appelation 1838
accross 1834, 1864	appologies 1850
afair 1843	appologise 1856
afforesaid 1831, 1835, 1836, 1839	appologising 1838
aforsaid 1837	appology 1851, 1856, 1858,
Affrican 1855	1859, 1863
aforded 1845	apprais 1830
agregate 1854, 1855, 1860, 1862	appraisement 1839
agrieved 1863	appropos 1855
agrivate 1848	arive 1846
aimiable 1842	asscertain 1836
alledge 1859, 1860	assetts 1854
alledged 1856, 1858, 1859,	audable 1858
1863	authorizeing 1835
alltogether 1844	
almanic 1841	ballance 1838, 1841, 1842, 1843,
alow 1862	1844, 1847, 1848, 1856,
alude 1862	1858, 1860, 1861, 1862
alusion 1857	barches (for barges) 1861
amunition 1862	befal 1863
analized 1848	begining 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837,
analoge 1857	1839, 1840
anihilated 1859	beligerent 1863

Springfield, Ill. Dec 9. 1859
D. W. Wilder, Esq
My dear Sir:

While at Elwood I promised
the editor of the free soil paper at
St. Joseph (Dr. Benjamin, as I remember)
to try to be at St. Jo. Tuesday evening
on my return home. As things went,
I could not get there; and when I
reached on Wednesday evening, I did
not get to see him. When you
meet him please make my apology.
The reason I trouble you is that I
am not quite sure of his name, or
the name of paper.

Yours very truly
A. Lincoln.

LINCOLN FELT AN "APPOLOGY" WAS NEEDED

Soon after his return from Kansas in 1859 Lincoln wrote this letter to Daniel W. Wilder, editor of the Elwood, Kansas, *Free Press*: "While at Elwood I promised the editor of the Free-soil paper at St. Joseph (Dr. [O. A.] Benjamin, as I remember) to try to be at St. Jo. Tuesday evening on my return home. As things went, I could not get there; and when I reached [there] on Wednesday evening, I did not get to see him. When you meet him please make my *appology*. The reason I trouble you is that I am not quite sure of his name, or the name of [his] paper." Apology was one word that Lincoln misspelled both before and after this note of December 9, 1859.

- bretheren 1860
 bussiness 1839, 1842, 1844, 1849
 cabages 1847
 cerimoniously 1850
 chace 1846
 christain 1836
 chrystallizing 1863
 colateral 1855, 1858, 1864
 colateral 1860, 1863
 colaterals 1865
 communion (for communication)
 1846
 compatable 1848, 1864
 competetion 1856
 conferring 1839
 conferrance 1864
 conference 1864, 1865
 consederation 1864
 considderation 1832, 1833
 consumation 1838, 1857
 cotten 1847, 1848, 1858, 1859,
 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864
 cousin 1861
 decent (for descent) 1862
 deciplied 1857
 defered 1839
 demagougeism 1859
 democcracy 1859
 depositted 1834
 desireable 1858, 1860, 1861, 1862,
 1863, 1865
 despach 1849, 1851
 despatched 1865
 despatches 1860, 1861
 dispach 1838
 disparate 1846, 1848, 1858, 1864
 developpe 1859
 developement 1862
 developements 1863
 disclosiers 1842
 discourgement 1863
 dispairs 1836
 docketted 1854
 dutchess 1865
 eigth 1860
 electoral 1859
 embodyment 1857
 emination 1839
 endeavoring 1862
 enemys (plural) 1862
 equipppment 1861
 extention 1845
 fatigued 1862
 feasability 1861
 feauture 1848
 femes (for femmes, Fr.) 1862
 forfeets 1862
 fortyfy 1863
 fulfilling 1864
 gracefully 1865
 guarranteed 1863
 guarrantied 1863
 guarranties 1862, 1863
 guarranty 1850
 guarrillaism 1863
 harrass 1859, 1862
 harrasses 1853
 harrassing 1863
 harrassment 1864
 hazzard 1859
 heared 1858, 1863
 hinderance 1862
 hireing 1864
 horid 1842
 hough (for hoof) 1830
 hypocrcacy 1855
 immaginable 1848, 1858
 imaginary 1838, 1848
 immagination 1838, 1842

- imagine 1837, 1838, 1858
 imagineable 1863
 immancipate 1859
 immancipation 1859
 impiety (for impropriety) 1849
 inacurecies 1859
 inadmissable 1862
 inaugural 1860, 1861, 1863, 1865
 inaugurate 1862, 1863, 1864
 inaugerated 1861, 1863, 1864,
 1865
 inaugurating 1863
 inauguration 1849, 1850,
 1860, 1861, 1863
 inextricable 1863
 infered 1858
 inferences 1865
 inflamitory 1836
 inlist 1865
 inlisted 1861
 inlisting 1865
 inopoperative 1848
 instalation 1863
 intelect 1838
 intelligent 1838, 1861
 inteligible 1838
 intitled 1841
 irratation 1864
 irreconcileable 1864

 jealousies 1858
 jewell 1861
 juggleing 1845

 later (for latter) 1859
 lemmons 1862
 lieutenant 1861
 litteral 1848, 1858, 1863
 litterally 1841, 1860, 1862,
 1864, 1865
 litterary 1860

 magnanimous 1839, 1849, 1859
 maintainance 1860
 manageable 1862
 manageble 1853
 manouvered 1857
 marshall 1861, 1864
 melancholly 1841, 1842
 meritories 1864
 moral (for morale) 1862
 moveable 1861
 murmer 1837
 musquetoos 1848

 narative 1841
 negociated 1852, 1854
 neihbors 1864
 numed (for numbered) 1858

 ocasion 1863
 occasionally 1854
 occured 1838
 omision 1863
 opperate 1845
 opperates 1849
 operation 1837, 1848, 1863
 operations 1841, 1848, 1863
 opertunity 1855, 1860, 1862
 oppertunity 1845, 1854, 1856,
 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862,
 1863
 oppertunely 1860
 orrally 1842
 painfull 1842
 paralel 1842
 paralized 1864
 parol 1863, 1864
 parold 1863
 pattent 1861
 perceiveable 1830
 perceptable 1862
 perculiar 1858

Private

Springfield, Ill. Aug. 17. 1860

Hon. J. F. Simmons

My dear Sir

I had not heard
a word from Rhode Island for a
long time, till this morning, when
I received a letter intimating that
Douglas is *inlisting* some rich men
there, who know how to use money,
and that it ^{is} endangering the
State— How is this? Please
write me—

Yours truly
A. Lincoln

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ERRED

When Lincoln was the Republican Party's candidate for the presidency he did not make any speeches but he did write a great number of letters. In this one to Rhode Island Senator James F. Simmons he says, "I had not heard a word from Rhode-Island for a long time, till this morning, when I received a letter intimating that Douglas is *inlisting* some rich men there, who know how to use money, and that it is endangering the State. How is this? Please write me." The first "i" in the word *inlisting* is formed like the other four "i's" in that line so there could be little doubt that the word was misspelled.

- peremptorily 1839
 pertenaceously 1851
 pertenacious 1842
 phoenetic 1859
 planing (for planning) 1838
 plausable 1848, 1859
 plausably 1863
 plumbs (for plums) 1847
 pokets 1846
 portaguse (for Portuguese) 1855
 prarie 1837, 1860
 preferred 1860
 preval 1863
 privilege 1834, 1835, 1846, 1859,
 1862, 1863, 1864
 privileges 1833, 1841, 1851,
 1854, 1863, 1864
 princply 1859
 prosecute 1863
 prosecuted 1862, 1863, 1864
 prosecuting 1848, 1855,
 1858, 1863
 prosecution 1848, 1853,
 1857, 1861, 1862, 1863
 prosecutions 1862, 1863
 prosecutor 1860
 proveing 1834
 quailification 1835
 reccommend 1846
 recommending 1849
 receved 1864
 recinded 1864
 refered 1834, 1840, 1858, 1863,
 1865
 reference 1843
 relection 1859
 remembrance 1842
 repeled 1838
 resistance 1860
 responsible 1855
 resusitated 1840
 route (for rout) 1862
 sacrafice 1846, 1856, 1857
 sacrificed 1859
 sacrificing 1857, 1858
 seclected 1847
 seperate 1858
 sett 1860, 1864
 severly 1863
 shaddow 1860
 shareing 1837
 sincerety 1851, 1864
 sincerely 1856
 sinnews 1846
 Sir-name 1855
 skilful 1859, 1863
 sovereigns 1861
 staid (for stayed) 1841, 1862
 straght 1858
 studdying 1850
 subsistance 1861
 suplemental 1835
 susceptible 1858
 swimming 1848
 swimmingly 1840
 swollen 1858, 1863
 synonamous 1851
 teritorial 1848, 1856, 1858, 1859
 territories 1858, 1859, 1860
 teritory 1837, 1839, 1847,
 1848, 1849, 1855, 1856,
 1858, 1859
 territorial 1858, 1859
 territories 1859
 terrtory 1861
 tollerably 1848
 transcended 1863
 transfered 1832, 1840
 tyranny 1860

unanimous 1855, 1858, 1860, 1863, 1864, 1865	vegetation 1858
unanimously 1837, 1841, 1843, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1865	very 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1847
undesireble 1861	verrily 1834
ungracious 1863	vilifacation 1859
unmistakeable 1856	visiter 1843
	wave (for waive) 1838
	whiped 1846

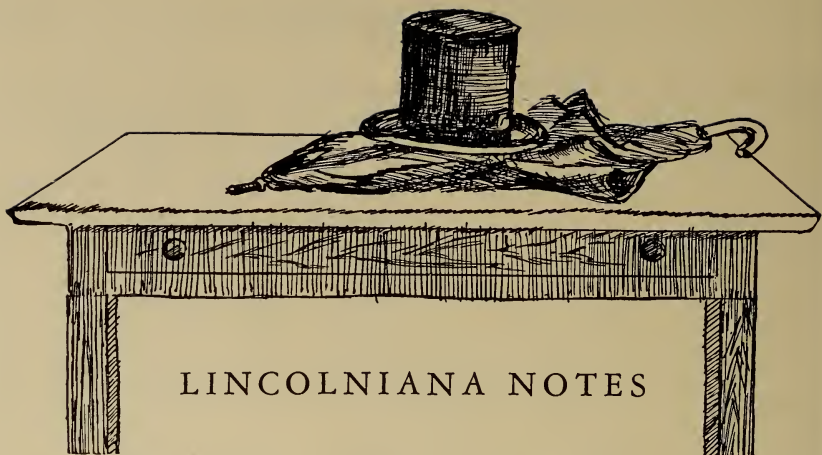
Following are words which Lincoln misspelled both *before* 1840 and *after* 1860:

across 1834 - 1864	privilege 1834 - 1864
ballance 1838 - 1862	privileges 1833 - 1864
inteligent 1838 - 1861	refered 1834 - 1865
opperation 1837 - 1863	unanimously 1837 - 1865

Following are words which Lincoln misspelled in two ways:

afforesaid, aforsaid	imagineable, immaginable
colateral, colatteral	manageable, manageble
conferrance, conference	teritory, territory
consederation, considderation	teritories, terrtories
despach, dispach	teritorial, terrtorial
guaranteed, guarrantied	

NOTE: The words in the above lists are quoted from *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by Roy P. Basler, Marion D. Pratt and Lloyd Dunlap with the permission of the publishers, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey. *The Collected Works* were copyrighted in 1953 by The Abraham Lincoln Association.



LINCOLNIANA NOTES

HAWKINS TAYLOR ON THE BALTIMORE PLOT

Abraham Lincoln's secret arrival in Washington in 1861 as President-elect has been the subject of much discussion and speculation over the years. The opposition press at the time was loud in its denunciation of what it considered an undignified episode. But Secret Serviceman Allan Pinkerton had received rumors of a plot to assassinate Lincoln in Baltimore. At Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on Friday evening, February 25, Lincoln was informed of this threat and under pressure he was persuaded to abandon the balance of his scheduled trip to Washington.

Accompanied by Ward Hill Lamon he left Harrisburg Friday evening, passed through Baltimore incognito, and arrived in Washington at 6 A.M. Saturday. The following reminiscences of Hawkins Taylor, of Keokuk, Iowa, political friend and ardent supporter of Lincoln's, tell of conditions in Baltimore when Lincoln's scheduled train reached the city. They are printed in Emma Siggins White's *Genealogy of the Descendants of John Walker of Wigton, Scotland*. . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1902), 438-40:

I went to Washington in February with Governor Kirkwood, and it happened that we reached Harrisburg from the West the same morning

that Mr. Lincoln and his party arrived there from Philadelphia. We concluded to remain over for the day. We stopped at the same hotel with Mr. Lincoln and his party, and Governor Kirkwood¹ was recognized and feted as of the President's party. Governor Curtin² says that Mr. Lincoln went to his room under pretense of spending the night there. That is probably true, but it was given out at the hotel that Mr. Lincoln was worn out and that he had gone to bed to get needed rest, and the most of his party so believed. Mr. Lincoln and his party had a special train and was to leave Harrisburg in the morning, while the regular train for Washington passed Harrisburg at 1 o'clock in the night. Governor Kirkwood and I took that train without any suspicion that Mr. Lincoln had left on a train for Philadelphia.

We stopped at Gilmore's Hotel in Baltimore and I there met a party of thirty, organized as they told me to start the next morning for Montgomery, Ala., the Confederate seat of government.³ Six of this party were from Keokuk, townsmen and friends of mine for several years. Of this number was Winder, who, with his uncle,⁴ was afterwards the keeper of Andersonville prison, Medcalf, who captured the arsenal at Baton Rouge afterwards, Wooten,⁵ who was killed at Fredericksburg. I never heard of the other three afterwards—they were full of liquor. They had just made a night of it before leaving, they told me. There were three or four times as many of the Montgomery party proper, that seemed to form a party of their own, sort of chivalric cut-throats of the pro-slavery element of that day. The Keokuk party kindly wanted me to go with them to Montgomery, pledging me a good office, if I would go. They said they would soon return to Washington where I might rely on being protected for old friendship sake. They said they were stopping off for a day to [see] Mr. Lincoln pass through the city.

Some time before the time of the train on which Mr. Lincoln's party was due, the Governor and I started to the depot, but every approach was blocked for several squares. We worked our way to within a square of the depot when we heard the rumor that Mr. Lincoln was then in Washington. The crowd in the street became furious, denouncing Mr. Lincoln as a coward and everything discreditable. The Governor said to me that I had better go back to the telegraph office and learn the fact whether Mr. Lincoln was really in Washington. I worked my way back through the crowd for a block, and

¹ Samuel Jordan Kirkwood was governor of Iowa, 1860-1864, 1876-1877; U. S. Senator, 1866-1867, 1877-1881; and U. S. Secretary of the Interior, 1881-1882.

² Andrew Gregg Curtin was the Civil War governor of Pennsylvania.

³ Montgomery, Ala., was the first capital of the Confederate States of America. The seat of government was moved to Richmond, Virginia in June, 1861.

⁴ Captain Richard B. Winder and General John Henry Winder.

⁵ Medcalf and Wooten have not been further identified.

from there to the telegraph office in the center of the city. I did not see a single person on the street, and in the office the operator was alone. I wrote a dispatch to Senator Harland⁶ [*sic.*] asking him if Mr. Lincoln was then in Washington. The operator was from the East. He watched me closely, inquired where I was from, and satisfying himself that I was safe, said: "You need not send that dispatch; Mr. Lincoln is in Washington safe, and the happiest dispatch of my life was the one that told me he was there. If he had attempted to come through Baltimore as he expected, he would have been torn to pieces."

I went back to the Governor, and in a few minutes the train arrived with the Lincoln party. With difficulty they got carriages to take them across the city to the Camden depot, and as the party moved through the blocked streets all kinds of epithets were heaped upon them and Mr. Lincoln. One black-guard near me called across the street as Mrs. Lincoln passed, to one of his set: "Did you see Bob?" "Yes, I saw him, he was gnawing at a piece of bologna sausage." As soon as the party got out of the mob they drove rapidly across the city and got into a car where they remained several hours before the train left. Policemen were stationed at each end of the car for their protection, but the police professed to be greatly outraged that Mr. Lincoln had feared to pass through the city openly. Kane, the most rabid secessionist, was then chief of police.

There is not a single doubt that if Mr. Lincoln had gone through Baltimore as intended, he literally would have been torn to pieces; and I have no doubt that the party stopping over to see him before going to Montgomery, including the Keokuk party, remained over to take the news to Jeff Davis that they had seen the dead Lincoln before leaving Baltimore. I am satisfied that Governor Curtin is not mistaken in his fear that the murder of Mr. Lincoln at that time would have been the success of the rebel cause. But Curtin⁷ entirely underrates Mr. Lincoln's ability up to the time of his being elected President. Mr. Lincoln was always a leader in state conventions. He was nominated unanimously for Senator against Douglas when the state was full of great men. Then his great speech in the city of New York in the spring of 1860, that really laid the foundation for his nomination in June [May 18] for President, was the great speech of the Campaign. Mr. Lincoln had no college training, or college vanities. He was always learning, and he doubtless learned more and faster during the Rebellion than previously.

⁶ James Harlan was then Senator from Iowa. Lincoln's son, Robert, later married Mary Harlan, daughter of the Senator.

⁷ Governor Curtin said that upon their first meeting Lincoln did not impress him as being a great man. Curtin thought that the war developed and brought out latent qualities of leadership within Lincoln which would never have become manifest except under the most trying conditions. See William H. Egle, *Andrew Gregg Curtin: His Life and Services* (Philadelphia, 1895), 40.

LINCOLN AND THE TOWN OF HURON

The original survey, made by Abraham Lincoln, of the proposed town of Huron (located in what is now the north-west corner of Menard County) is on display in the Horner-Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library. On the map, in Lincoln's handwriting, is the following note:

I hereby certify that the annexed is a correct map of the town of Huron; and that the requisites of the statute, in such cases made ande and [sic] provided, have been complied with. A. Lincoln for Thomas M. Neale Surveyor of Sangamon County May 21, 1836."

The Historical Library also has a broadside advertising the "Sale of Lots in Huron" which offered investment opportunities that the public evidently was able to resist since the town never materialized and its only claim to fame was the survey by Lincoln. The "proprietors" of the site, and evidently the men for whom Lincoln worked, were practically all from Springfield:

James Adams, his wife and five children, settled in Springfield in 1821. He was a lawyer and probate judge of Sangamon County.

William Carpenter was born in Philadelphia in 1787, came to Sangamon County in 1820 and entered the land upon which he settled. He moved to Springfield in 1828. He was a justice of the peace, legislator, and in 1837 was appointed postmaster at Springfield by President Van Buren.

Ninian Wirt Edwards, son of Governor Ninian Edwards, was a lawyer and legislator. He had married Elizabeth Todd, a sister of Mary Todd Lincoln's. It was in the Edwards house that Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd were married in 1842 and there that Mrs. Lincoln died on July 16, 1882.

Simeon Francis was a pioneer journalist. He was born in Connecticut in 1796, came to Illinois in 1831 and began publication of the *Sangamo Journal* (now the *Illinois State Journal*) in Springfield.

Dr. Gershom Jayne was born in Orange County, New York, in 1791. He served as a surgeon in the War of 1812 and settled in Springfield in 1821.

Stephen T. Logan was an outstanding Illinois lawyer and Lincoln's law partner, 1841-1844.

George G. Miller operated a ferry at Huron on the Sangamon River twelve miles northwest of New Salem. His interest in the success of the town is obvious.

Samuel Morris was one of the representatives from Sangamon County to a convention in Rushville in 1834 to decide on a new site for the state capital.

SALE OF LOTS IN HURON.

The site upon which the town of Huron is laid out, has long been considered the most favorable location for an important town of any in the region of country in which it is situated. It was selected for that purpose when there were but few white inhabitants in the country. It is situated at the head of the Pecan Bottom—one of the most valuable tracts of land in the State—at the point where the bluff strikes the Sangamon River. It is on a high and commanding situation—in a healthy District—in the neighborhood of rich settlements of farmers—is a favorable point for crossing the river, being known as Miller's Ferry, and is a made a point through which the Sangamon Canal must pass by provision of the Company's charter. Its central location will not fail to strike the attention of those who look both to the present and the future in making investments. It lies about 30 miles north west of Springfield, 30 miles north of Jacksonville, 30 miles north east of Beardstown, and 30 miles south of Tremont. A great portion of the travel from Jacksonville to the Military tract, via Havana, crosses the river at Huron. The town offers great inducement for the settlement of merchants, mechanics and others.

There will be a Public Sale of Lots in said town on the 30th of April next, on a credit of six and twelve months with approved security, and title bond to purchasers.

James Adams, Wm. Carpenter and David Prickett, Esqs. or either of them are authorised to sell lots prior to the day of sale.

Huron, April 2, 1836.

STEPHEN T. LOGAN,	N. W. EDWARDS,
JAMES ADAMS,	SAMUEL MORRIS,
GERSHAM JAYNE,	WM. CARPENTER,
JOHN T. STUART,	GEO. MILLER,
DAVID PRICKETT,	S. H. TREAT.
SIMEON FRANCIS,	Proprietors.

Printed at the Sangamon Journal Office.

INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES, 1836

The original of this broadside advertising Huron, a town surveyed by Lincoln, is fifteen and three-quarters inches wide by ten and a half inches deep. An appropriate name for it would probably have been "Thirty" or "Thirty-Mile" since the text says it was "about 30 miles north west of Springfield, 30 miles north of Jacksonville, 30 miles north east of Beardstown, and 30 miles south of Tremont."

David Prickett, a pioneer lawyer, was born in Georgia in 1800. He was the first Supreme Court reporter of Illinois and state's attorney for the Springfield Judicial Circuit in 1837.

John Todd Stuart, a lawyer and congressman, was Abraham Lincoln's first law partner, 1837-1841.

Samuel Hubbel Treat, a lawyer and jurist, came to Springfield from New York State in 1834. He served fourteen years on the Supreme Court of Illinois and thirty-four years as Judge of the U. S. District Court for the Southern District of Illinois.

LINCOLN AND THE SPENCER RIFLE

The following account of Lincoln's experiments with the Spencer rifle was discovered recently by a Lincoln student, William J. Hosking of Springfield, who was examining the letters and papers of the National Lincoln Monument Association in the Illinois State Historical Library. Hosking was making a study of the original construction of the monument.

Charles A. Middleton, author of the letter, evidently was employed in the War Department in Washington, D.C. The "Commander Wise" referred to was Henry Augustus Wise of the Bureau of Ordnance, U. S. Navy Department.

Two books recently have been published on Lincoln's interest in military weapons: *Lincoln and the Tools of War*, by Robert V. Bruce (Bobbs-Merrill: Indianapolis, 1956) and *Lincoln's Choice*, by J. O. Buckeridge (The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1956). The latter deals particularly with the Spencer rifle and in it William M. Spencer, the inventor, gives his own account of how Lincoln tested the gun. This differs greatly from the Middleton version. According to Spencer Lincoln fired at a board and the place was near the site of the Washington Monument. Middleton wrote his account some years after the event and may have confused other tests with those of Spencer's weapon.

Apparently the Lincoln Monument Association did not do anything about acquiring the stone at which Middleton said that Lincoln shot:

WASHINGTON D. C. MAY 22d / 71.

TO THE GENTLEMEN OF THE LINCOLN MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION SPRINGFIELD ILL.

Having noticed that it is intended soon to dedicate the Lincoln Monument I have concluded to inform you as I should have done before this time of a stone which is in this City that you may perhaps think worthy of a place near the monument.

During the war there was an officer who wished to have his regiment armed with the Spencer Rifle and applied to Mr. Lincoln to have his wish complied with. Mr. Lincoln was opposed to the introduction of any arm into the service which would admit of the soldiers wasting their ammunition by too rapid firing and supposed the Spencer Rifle to be one of that class, he however consented to give it a trial himself. and accompanied by Mr Stanton and Commander Wise he held himself open to instruction and conviction, if his objections could be removed by experiment — The experiment was a failure in consequence of the wrong cartridge being taken with the gun — I supposed the matter ended and the gun condemned, but Mr. Lincoln came alone and took the rifle to give it another trial which was again unsatisfactory, he returned it remarking that "That was no fit arm to put any man in the field with."

Then I supposed the matter finally settled and ended but Mr. Lincoln at the request of the manufacturer made another experiment which was also a failure and yet again with the inventor, which was a success and secured his approval in favor of a gun which helped very much in the hands of the union troops to secure victory to the Union cause.

The patience with which he *personally* studied and experimented with a view to the protection of the lives of the union troops at a time that he was represented as caring nothing for them, impressed me so forcibly that whenever I see the stone bearing the bullet marks of his solicitous experiments I think that every soldier who fought for his country's flag would feel when looking upon the marks on the stone to which I allude that he was more cared for than he had supposed by the man at the White House.

VERY RESPECTFULLY

CHAS. A. MIDDLETON

[P.S.] The stone is one in a stairway leading from the ground or yard to the main thoroughfare from the White House to the Treasury Dept and would have to be taken out and replaced.

"JACK" LINCOLN'S LAST PHOTOGRAPH

Evidence that the photograph of Abraham Lincoln II ("Jack"), published in the Autumn issue of this *Journal* was the last one ever made of the boy is contained in a letter written by his father, Robert Todd Lincoln, and recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library.

The letter was addressed to Mrs. Josephine Remann Edwards and was inherited by her daughter, Mrs. Mary Edwards Brown, from whom the Historical Library obtained it. Mrs. Brown's father was custodian of the Lincoln Home at the time the letter was written. He had been a child of three when Mary Todd and Abraham Lincoln were married in the residence of his parents, Ninian W. and Elizabeth Todd Edwards.

The date of this last picture of Abraham Lincoln's only grandson is given in the letter as "when he was about 14 years old" which would have been 1887, since he was born on August 14, 1873:

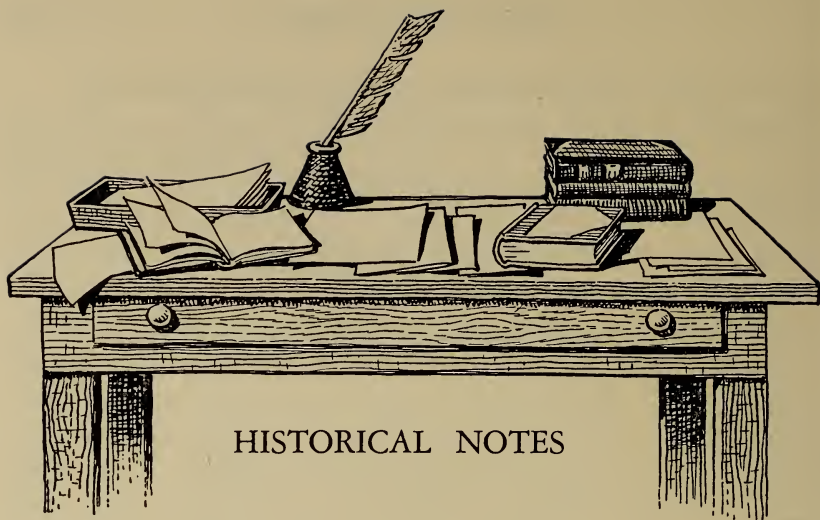
CHICAGO 2 MAY '98
60 LAKE SHORE DRIVE

MY DEAR JOSEPHINE:

You have the right to think that I have been very negligent in keeping my promise about the photographs. There have been several difficulties in the way. It took a good while for the photographer to make such a picture of my son as I wished to send & when it came I was entering upon an illness which has made me omit to do any thing that I could avoid. I am now nearly well & am trying to get up to date. Today or tomorrow a package will go to you by express, containing the two pictures. That of "Jack," as we called him, is an enlargement of the last one taken—when he was about 14 years old. The one of myself was taken at about the same time & I send it for that reason, rather than one of this date. It happens to be the last I have had & one made now would be almost exactly at my father's age at his death. I think the collection is more satisfactory in this way.

I hope they will reach you safely

AFFECTIONATELY YOUR COUSIN
ROBERT T. LINCOLN



HISTORICAL NOTES

PIONEER PREACHER'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The Rev. Braxton Parrish, one of the pioneers of Franklin County, delivered the following autobiographical address before a meeting of the Franklin County Literary Society in the Methodist Church at Benton on August 3, 1874. In addition to being a Methodist minister the Rev. Mr. Parrish served five sessions in the Illinois State Senate (1834-1844) and one in the House (1844-1846). Except for the period during the presidency of James K. Polk (1845-1849), when he was register of the land office at Shawneetown, the minister-legislator spent his adult life in Franklin County—where the town of Parrish (1950 population, 75), located a few miles southeast of Benton, was named for him. He was seventy-eight when he made this speech and his remark in the last paragraph that he might not see members of his audience again proved prophetic—the Southern Illinois Conference of the Methodist Church, meeting in Centralia in September, 1875, noted his "death recently" in a resolution.

The text of the speech was provided to the *Journal* by Dr. Andy Hall of Mt. Vernon:

I was born in North Carolina on the 24th day of October, 1795. When but an infant, my parents moved to South Carolina, in what was called the Newberry district. We remained there until 1811 or 1812. To that place cling my first impressions.

When I first knew my father he was, as matters then went, well off, and was deputy sheriff of the Newberry district.

He was a very generous man and could not refuse his friends such favors as they might ask. He went

their securities, generally, and as the result, he was broken up. Somewhat disheartened, he sold out, with a view of going to Louisiana. My mother did not want to go there and finally after much entreaty, prevailed on him to go back to North Carolina. In 1815, my father died, leaving a widow and eight children, and I the eldest. I never knew what became of the estate. In 1819, I left the state. These facts will give you an idea of the chances I had for an education. We had no free schools then, and but little interest was felt upon the subject of education. It was supposed to be the duty of every man to educate his own children, and the general impression seemed to prevail that it was entirely superfluous to educate the children of the poorer classes to any degree whatever. My own education in schools, during life, only amounted to three months, and that time was devoted to the old Dillworth spelling book.

After my father's death I worked for my mother and sisters. The first year I worked for wages, and for the entire year's labor received \$100.00, and during that time I only lost three days after deducting half Saturdays that I walked home, ten miles. This \$100.00 went to the support of my mother's family, which with the labor of my brother, Thos. Parrish, who recently died in Jackson County, Illinois, and that of the other children, made them a living. After working that year for the \$100.00 I bought my mother a small farm in Lincoln County, N. C., and settled her and the children upon it. The next two years I worked for shares of crop, all of which went to the

support of my mother and family.

I left my crop on the field the last year for them, and hired to a man for \$7.00 per month, to drive a team from North Carolina to Boone's Lick in Missouri, as I desired to see the country and do what I could for myself. When we got to Reedieville, near Stone River in Tennessee, the winter set in very hard, and the family concluded to remain there all winter. My employer paid me off. I bought what was then called a wallet, being a piece of cloth sewed up with an opening in the center like saddle bags. In this wallet I placed what little extra clothing I had, and with but very little money started with my wallet on my shoulder afoot for Boone's Lick, my original destination.

As I walked along, the reflection came upon me, that here I was a young man, twenty-four years of age, with the whole world before me in which to make a living, my mother and children comfortably situated, while the old man, my late employer, with a large family of girls, and very short of means, was encamped in a strange country, exposed to the hardships and rigor of a long winter. So strong did my sympathies work upon me that, after an hour's walk I turned about and went back to the old man and voluntarily gave him all the money I had except \$5.00. The old man shed tears from the depth of his gratitude, and I felt that indeed, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

I then went down Stone River, about three miles and got employment at a sawmill for the winter. It had an old fashioned water mill

with an upright saw. The next summer I worked in the vicinity for a carpenter named John Farr, and received in payment for the summer's work a horse. That fall, after getting the horse, I set in to work at the still-house of Joseph Ballow near Reedieville. Then we did not think it any harm to make liquor and drink it too, in moderate quantities, and nobody drank to excess in those days, but we did not make such poison as they manufacture nowadays.

During the fall of 1820, while at work at the still-house, Margaret Knox, a young widow and sister-in-law of my employer, came from Franklin County, Illinois, to visit him, in company with her father, John Thompson, and strange to tell, we, that winter, got bewitched with one another, and on May 12, 1821, were married. I had no property in the world but a change of clothing and a horse, saddle and bridle, and what little effects she had were back in Franklin County, Illinois. For the reasons then that her father, mother, relatives and property were here, she wanted to come to Illinois. I had seen the constitution of the state, and being disgusted with slavery, I wanted a home in a free state, and consented to move here.

I came to this county on horse back, and hunted over the entire territory which now composes the counties of Franklin and Williamson, to find some sort of a carriage to take back to bring my wife here, but I could find nothing less than a four-horse wagon. I had no team to take such a vehicle, and if I had, we had nothing back there to haul in it. So I put a saddle and bridle on a horse

which my wife had here and led it back to where I left her. We packed up what goods we had, put them and the two little boys that my wife had by a former husband, on the two horses. My wife and I walked and led the horses, thus burdened, every foot of the way to Illinois.

I was a recent convert to religion, but had no Bible. I inquired of my wife if they had any Bibles in Illinois. She said no. Coming through Nashville, Tenn., on our way here, I saw the sign of a book store. I thought I would go in there, but said to my wife, there was no use, as I had no money to spare to buy one. She said, "Go in and price them," which I did. The cheapest one was \$2.50, such a one as you could now get for 25c. I was afraid to buy it for fear our money would give out. She said, "Buy it and trust to providence for means to get to Illinois." We would not have had money to get there, but for the fact that on the other side of the Ohio River we were overtaken by a man named Heath, an entire stranger. From his conversation I soon learned that he was a recent professor of religion, also, and strong in the cause of his Master.

When we came to part he insisted that we should go with him and rest a day or two; that the Lord had blessed him with plenty, and he wanted us to go and share it. We went with him as he lived only a short distance from our direct route; remained with him three days and nights, and when we got ready to leave, he filled our wallets with bread, meat and honey, and came with us to the river and paid our ferryage across

the Ohio to the Illinois shore. When we left I thought very strongly of my wife's remark in Nashville to "buy the Bible and trust to providence." When we got as far as the neighborhood of Alexander McCreery in this county, we met McCreery in the road. He was well acquainted with my wife and she introduced me to him as her husband. I then had my Bible under my arm. McCreery asked many questions as to my future intentions. McCreery was then for the country, a rich man, but was something of a scoffer of religion and religious people. A short time after, McCreery, in going through the neighborhood collecting his interest, etc., said he had met a poor devil coming into this country to make a living with a Bible under his arm, and he thought he had better have a grubbing hoe on his shoulder. The remark soon came to my wife's ears and she was much exercised about it, but I pacified her by telling her that that was a very natural conclusion for a worldly minded man to come to.

When I arrived here I had but 18¾ cents in money. It troubled me to know how to dispose of it to the best advantage, more than any money has ever troubled me since. We settled about six miles east of where Benton now is, in the winter of 1821-2; went right into the woods and cut logs and hauled them upon what was then called a "lizard", a kind of dray made out of the forms of a tree. After getting the logs dragged up, the next thing was to get them put up. We invited in the whole neighborhood, far and near, and got the services of six women

and four men. The men kept up the corners and the women lifted the logs up to them, and we did an admirable job. We put the walls cabin fashion, weighted down the clapboard roof with poles, cut openings for door and fireplace, all in one day.

The next day we moved into it, on the frozen earth among the chips and snow. Soon raised a wooden chimney daubed with mud, as high as the mantel-piece. We split trees and made puncheons for a floor, laid it down and then we felt pretty comfortable. My wife says: "Now I can spin on this floor," and by the light of the fireplace, I took the cards and she the wheel and we soon had three cuts of cotton yarn spun. We then had prayer, and in that rude structure, erected in the woods, surrounded by the howling wolves and panthers, we went to bed, slept soundly and were supremely happy, such happiness as comes to but few of us in a lifetime.

After this we built the chimney out with sticks and mud, and daubed the cracks of the cabin. My wife carrying me all the mixed mud for that purpose. While we were working it, it snowed so hard that I could hardly see her to the clay hole. I wanted to quit, but she said no, and we finished it that night. We made a door shutter out of clapboards, fastening them on with wooden pins, as nails were not to be had nearer than sixty miles. We made a table out of slabs split from a walnut tree. Our bedstead was nothing more than a platform made on forked sticks, and all our furniture and utensils were of a like rude character, such as we could make ourselves with the aid of an auger and an axe.

And yet, we had plenty to eat. The country was full of game, bear, deer, turkey, as well as panthers, wolves and wildcats, and wild honey was found in great abundance. We could hear the wolves howling every night. The first sow I ever owned was killed by a bear near my doorway. I once chased a bear over the very site of this town. This was, even in that day a fine country. Our cattle were fat, winter and summer, without any care of feeding them. In the winter the lowlands and bottoms were covered with a grass we called "winter grass," which sustained our stock in fine condition during the most rigorous weather. Peavine, grass and weeds were then so thick that we could trail a bear or horse all day. There was no underbrush in the woods except now and then a little patch which we called "bear-roughs," where the fire had not reached.

As I said, we had plenty of everything to eat, but how to get money was the problem, we had none. Notes were given, not for money, but for raccoon skins or articles of personal property. I remember that I once went down to Dorris' store at old Frankfort, to get some domestic for my wife, who was sick. I told Dorris our condition; that we had been sick and got bare of clothing, and asked him how much I could pay him for the cloth we needed so much. He asked me, "Are you a hunter?" I said, "No, sir." Says he, "will you hunt?" I said, "why do you want to know that?" "Well," says he, "if you will hunt and let me have all the skins and deer hams you get, you can have what you want." I agreed

to his proposition and bought twenty-four yards of cotton domestic at 50c a yard. When I took it home I told my wife how I got it. She shed tears and said we were in debt, that we could never get out. This affected me somewhat, but I told her that we did not get the goods before we needed them, and I thought there would be some way provided to pay for them. This was in the winter and the weather was very severe.

The next morning I was up before daylight to go hunting. When I reached Middle Fork Creek it was frozen over hard, but I found an air-hole, or open space in the ice, and while looking at it I spied an otter stick his head up, before I could shoot it dodged under the ice. The water was clear and I could see it swimming under the ice. I followed it down the creek until I saw it go into a hole in the bank under the water. I then went back home and got some tools and my dogs and went digging and soon unearthed and captured three large otters. The skins were then worth \$4.00 apiece. So you see I paid for the cloth I had bought by one hunt before breakfast. I took the skins to my wife and told her we would now get out of debt. She said she would never distrust providence again.

At this time I could not read or write intelligently, nor cipher any, but, by the light of the fireplace at night, after working hard all day, I tried to improve myself in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and by perseverance in this way, I got a fair knowledge of these branches, though, of course, by no means perfect.

I cleared my own farm, cut and

split the rails and carried them on my shoulder and made a fence, as I had no wagon to haul them. There were no plows to be had nearer than Shawneetown, fifty miles away, and I had no money to buy one had they been nearer. I borrowed a "bull tongue" plow of my father-in-law,—stocked it myself. It had no iron about it except the plow and bolt,—had a wooden clevis, wooden single-tree, etc. For harness I had shuck collar, hickory bark lines. With this rigging I broke up my ground, and covered my corn with a cooper's adze, having no better tool for the purpose. One night a trifling dog had eaten up my deer-skin backband. I went into the house and got my gun to shoot him to get his hide to make another backband, but the dog seemed to know what was up and got away from me, so I had to make another deer-skin one. With these implements we made corn in abundance.

The nearest mill in the country was on the Wabash River near where Carmi now is. I once took a load of corn to that mill and had it ground. We had no wheat in those days. On our return we upset in a small creek which was swollen by a freshet and lost most of our meal. We then concluded we would go back there no more, and had to resort to other means to make meal. For the most part we beat out our meal in wooden mortars, but finally I rigged up a kind of hand mill of my own out of a couple of old stones that I procured down at the old Jordan Fort in Williamson County. The only objection I had to the arrangement was that I had to grind before eating.

It was either grind or no bread.

During one Summer the meal that we ground on our little hand mill got to tasting bad and it was a long time before we found out what the matter was. At first we attributed it to the corn, but upon taking up the stone we found furrows of them full of white wood lice that had gone in between them to eat the meal. They had been shortening our bread for a long time. I have heard since that these lice are very good for the yellow jaundice, and I suppose they must be, for we have not to this day been troubled with that disease.

Among the most prominent settlers when I came to this county were Alexander McCreery, Henry Yost, Nathaniel Jones, Nathan Clampet, John Crawford, James Aiken, Herrin Taylor and two old men named Webb, living in Webb's Prairie. West of Benton lived John Browning and Mr. Hutson. Frizell and Estus lived in Frizell's Prairie, and Michael Rawlings in this prairie above, which now bears his name, and in Garrett's Prairie lived the man whose name it bears, and in Frankfort a few families, together with Simon Hubbard, who was then Circuit clerk, county clerk and probate judge, and I believe, also master in chancery. We were all peaceable, friendly and happy, and neighbored from John Browning's to Frizell's Prairie. We all strove, by all means in our power to assist each other in business necessarily, attending log rollings and house raisings.

Most of these men have passed away but their descendants are worthy their noble sires, and I feel the highest degree of satisfaction in saying

that those descendants are, to this day, the pride of our country. Take the Webbs, Brownings, Crawford and other names I mentioned, and you will find them today the most respected of our citizens, who have kept pace with all the advancement of this progressive age, and I feel happy in the further reflection that all of my own family have been, and are esteemed as honorable men and women.

The first Methodist class meeting was formed at Mr. Nathan Clamper's at the place Dr. Carter now lives, in 1822, and was composed of seven persons. We had rails for seats and on one occasion when more came than we expected, Mr. Crawford rolled some large pumpkins and made seats of them. I can remember when the first schoolhouse was built. My children went to the Dillon settlement school, a distance of four miles. When I was elected judge, about 1832, the county was \$300.00 in debt, and we thought that terrible. We had no courthouse then, nor was there a bridge in the county, and it was a question of how to raise funds and pay the debt and build a courthouse. We finally raised the taxes from 20 to 25c on the \$100.00, which created much dissatisfaction.

You no doubt wonder why the early settlers all made their farms on high and poorer lands. The reason is obvious. The low grounds were too wet and miry, and on the prairies the green headed flies were so numerous and severe that the cattle could not live on them. At sunup they would rush from the prairies to the woods, and up above here in

the prairie, Mr. Rawlings at certain seasons had to build fires to keep the flies from eating up his cattle.

How wonderfully the country has improved, none but the old pioneers can fully realize. Today we are surrounded by all the advantages attendant upon a high state of culture, and more than average degree of wealth.

Yet occasionally we see an eastern man who turns up his nose at us and calls this a rough country. He ought to remember that we made this country, while the one he came from was made to his hands a century before he was born. This reminds me of the story I have heard of the eastern woman, who in answer to an inquiry as to the character of this country, said: "It was a paradise for men and dogs, but hell for women and oxen."

The experience I have detailed is not my own alone, but that in a degree, of all the early settlers here. Now you have school houses, churches and all the attendant blessings of a highly cultivated people, and we only refer to the past, that our appreciation of the present may be heightened and that when we hear others sneer at our limited advancement, looking back to our starting place, we may see how far we have really traveled upon the road of progress and how profoundly we have been moved by the impulses of the age.

In one thing I think we have not advanced. In the old time, if a man committed a crime, we all turned out to hunt him, a scoundrel was kicked out of decent society. That is not

always true now, I am sorry to say. But the old man will not cavil with the age that in so many respects is superior to his own.

My friends, tomorrow I leave this country to go to my daughter's, and

may never see you again, but my kindest wishes will be ever with you. Do not entirely forget the old man, but give him such remembrances as you think his character as a man, a pioneer and a citizen entitle him to.

LETTERS FROM NEW SWITZERLAND, 1831-1832

The first members of the Suppiger and Koepfli families who settled in what was to become the town of Highland in Madison County came to Illinois from Switzerland in 1831. The leader of this group was Joseph Suppiger, a capable young man who wrote a detailed diary of their travels from the town of Sursee, Canton Luzerne, which they left in April, to St. Louis where they arrived in August. After these settlers had chosen the sites for their new homes they wrote a number of letters to those of their families who had been left behind. These Swiss-Americans were anxious to have their relatives and friends join them in "New Switzerland," as they originally named their new home.

The diary and letters were collected and published in book form in Sursee in 1833. A copy of this book was obtained several years ago by Mr. and Mrs. Leo G. Titus of Berkeley, California, who have translated it from the original German—Mrs. Titus is a descendent of the Suppiger family of settlers.

Two of the letters which are reprinted below are by Joseph Suppiger and the other two are by Solomon Koepfli, the leader of that family group. In these letters are several references to the writings of Gottfried Duden. He was a German physician who had come to America and spent several years in Missouri. After his return to Germany he published his *Report on a Journey to the Western States of America and Sojourn in Missouri from 1824 to 1827*. The Suppiger and Koepfli families seem to have studied his book carefully before they left Switzerland.

NEW SWITZERLAND,
DECEMBER 11, 1831.

DEAR BROTHER:

We have heard nothing from you since we left Havre, but when I recall our backward lying route I am not surprised at the delay. We still have no German newspapers but probably with planning, the Swiss

papers will be forwarded to us from New York through Herr Iselin. He mentioned to us very briefly in his last letter, "In your Fatherland it becomes confused." These words filled us with anxiety. We do not know what they meant but they could make a problem for us. Should unhappy times settle on our old and still be-

loved Switzerland, would to God, that you and yours, your and our friends were here. All of you would find a much larger and more suitable sphere of action here, and from the New Switzerland a new country would soon arise that truly would not bring dishonor to the old. You still do not know in what a heavenly region we are now settled.

Just before I sent you my last letter from St. Louis a young man from Illinois offered us his holdings consisting of 450 acres, mostly forest, lying 27 miles easterly from St. Louis. Because of his purchase of this property, he was as we learned later, in a troublesome situation. This young man who had made considerable money in the book business, wanted to get married. So he looked for a nice lying estate in order that his chosen one would find him the more lovable, but Oh, Woe! After acquiring this land he had received from his well-beloved a most highly indignant refusal. For himself alone he did not want to settle down on the land for he knew he could use his money equally well in the bookstore. This moved him to give [it] . . . to us for the exceedingly low price of \$1900 cash. In order not to regret haste we went out to see the land. Father, Suppiger and Bernhard therefore secured the services of a German, just located in St. Louis who agreed to take them in his wagon out to the land.

This man, from Hannover, had settled ten years ago in Vandalia, the capital city of the State of Illinois. He had brought 300 florins into the country and has in this time, through

small speculations, built up a fortune of at least \$60,000. He offered to take our people to Vandalia in order to take a look at that region. They accepted the offer and found there places not completely objectionable, but we learned later that they were quite unhealthy and that they did not have the best soil. In accordance with their purpose they inspected the first estate and were all surprised at its extremely pleasant situation. The seller was not on the place but there is a German neighbor that he found at Edwardsville by the name of Bearsbeck in charge of the entire undertaking. This young man who came from the University at Sands Zeit, left Germany and settled in this region. Now in less than a year he will be named Justice of the Peace. He has devoted himself to our people without delay and with much activity.

On the offered estate that had earlier consisted of three farms there are twelve American buildings, two bubbling springs with excellent water, about 150 beautiful fruit trees, over 80 acres of fenced, cultivated land, the rest good forest through which several small brooks feed a silvery stream. Several springs also have their sources on this land, and there is something that is quite rare in this vicinity, a formation of limestone next to pit coal strata. There is a multitude of trees, nut trees, varieties of oak, locust, sassafras, ash, linden, mulberry, maple (not the sugar maple), red and white elms, wild apples, plums, cherries and vines, besides many others that I do not know. The location is just right to

deserve the name "New Helvetia" and considering everything, I may say that on our entire journey we have seen no part of the country where we would rather use the words of the Bible, "Here let us build houses." Several miles around there rise here and there, from the rich meadows, softly rounded, lovely hills that complete the picture. This extends more than 40 miles toward the west and south and is called Mirror Prairies. After only a short distance these again become a flat stretch of country extending more than 300 miles, interrupted only here and there by a hill, river or forest. What Duden says about the Illinois prairies is largely true, but it cannot be entirely relied upon. We have not yet noticed the drinking water that he may have found on his tour.

What brings profit for a landowner on the prairie, only he can know who understands the differences in productivity of the land in the woods, and on the prairie. Toward the south and west are almost no settlements, so that those coming here later will probably get plenty of good land from the State. Also cattle raising has much advantage, and while our capital will be needed entirely for acreage, our herds can command the vast grass meadows. Also there is a rich salt spring in our neighborhood to which all the cattle come from a distance of eight or ten miles for the benefit of their health.

A still more important consideration finally gave the decision to buy these lands. The great national highway which at the expense of the Government has been laid out west-

erly from Baltimore, the country's Capital, is now already advanced to Vandalia and next year will be finished to St. Louis. This important highway will then run within one or two miles above our property.

After all the others had viewed the land and felt attracted to it, the transaction was completed on October 5. The seller agreed to leave to us all of his last year's rent that consisted of 400 bushels of corn, 60 bushels of wheat and some oats. (A bushel is about the size of a Sursee quarter)

The same day we went to Edwardsville (15 miles from here) to buy at the head land office three very important and well located pieces of property that will be cut through by the National Highway. We had to pay the State price of \$1½ [*sic*] per acre. These 240 acres adjoined the first properties. We believe the acre is somewhat larger than ours. The week following the sale we gathered in New Switzerland, as we have named our present residence. All were in the most happy mood and thanked God that after so long a time away from home He had now surprised us with such an agreeable little Fatherland. Daily we find new joys in our surroundings. But not so in our dwelling houses which are wretchedly built. However, we soon hope to be free from this trouble. Already some preparations have been made and several days ago we bought 80 acres of land from the State for a building site. Of this more next time.

Yesterday we bought from a private owner another 120 acres of good

land most of which is in beautiful forest, but part of it forms a splendid hill. The first work was here, where we again gave the vines over to their mother. We believe some have survived, others not. Next spring the verdict will be known. (Tell this to Doctor Troxler with greetings and a thousand thanks). After planting the vines we improved somewhat on our buildings and now we must protect ourselves against prairie fires which will be set through the burning of the heavy grasses around our clearings.

In the fall the dried grass on the unharvested meadows is often several feet high and this is burned over. Such burned over lands produce much better forage next year. These fires can be so dangerous for the landowner that if he does not use proper precautions all of his clearings and plantings could easily be lost in flames. Later we planted nearly eight acres in wheat and we would have put in much more if the frost had not come much earlier than usual. Others had been busy with cutting and gathering corn and such necessary work.

So far we have gradually procured the following indispensable livestock for feeding over the winter: 7 cows with 3 calves, average price \$10; 4 draft oxen at \$40; 3 feeding oxen—these are very young, average price \$20; 4 horses with 1 colt, price of the horses \$80 to \$120; 8 sheep at \$2.50 each; 30 pigs at \$4 to \$5; 6 goats, \$2 each; 50 hens, 12 to 15 cents each, etc. We have slaughtered 1 cow, 1 ox, 1 sheep, 1 pig, and yesterday 1 deer that weighed 120 pounds after dressing. There are many deer here

and there is a farmer who shot 180 to 200 last winter.

Our mother is again in her element; she lacks now only a church but she is really entirely satisfied and the Sunday readings from religious writings make it up to her very well. Father could make an important name here as a physician if he wished to devote himself to it properly. The principal sickness here is the "cold-fever" (malaria) and we have heard several times that most of the new immigrants are attacked by it; however, all of us are in general as well or better than we were at home except that Anton Suppiger was laid up with this cold-fever for a while in St. Louis. St. Louis is a place where cold-fever is very prevalent as it is known that it comes from the mosquitoes from which we had to suffer so much last summer; these gather principally along the large, frequently over-flowing streams. Perhaps the rapid variations of heat and cold may have even worse effects. We have had no experience with this.

In the State of Illinois slave holding is forbidden and every negro that has passed his twentieth year is free. This is the reason why we have seldom seen many blacks since we left St. Louis, for which we are very glad. We saw plenty of Indians in St. Louis; they were mostly chieftains who were there buying goods.

I could have much more to write about but we are still too inexperienced over most conditions, so that I could not be certain of the facts and it is better to say nothing more. Now I leave you again for a short time. I will not crowd the space of

this letter with greetings. I refer thus to my last letter. For you and yours let this be a true farewell, which is a heartfelt wish for all.

IN THE NAME OF THY FAMILY,
YOUR BROTHER, SOLOMON [KOEPLI]

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NEW SWITZERLAND,
MARCH 19, 1832.

LOVEWORTHY PARENTS AND
BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

Praise God, the winter seems to be over. All the neighbors speak of earlier and milder winters like that of last year, but this year it must have been worse than any that the settlers can remember. It would make me happy never again to have such an experience. But still I must admit that our Swiss winters are colder and longer. But this quick change makes one feel the cold more. Also it makes it harder to bear, for us newcomers accustomed to European heating facilities, to be located here in dwellings that do not seem to be prepared for any winter. However, Thank God, all stay well. Only the old Frau Koepfli was sick some weeks, still never dangerously, and is again completely restored to health. Some days in January and February were so warm that the clothing had to be reduced when working in the open, but when the north wind roared, one shut himself happily in the house and sat by the stove.

The longer we live in this wonderful country the better we learn to understand G. Duden's writings. At home much looked wrong to us. But no linen woven, and no European rules of economy brought along—

one must accept this voluntarily and with the firm intention to be able to introduce something better. Each one learns quickly and easily unless there is stubbornness, and even that is quickly broken down by adversity. Some examples will explain what I mean :

1. You will remember the warning of G. Duden to take no male servants from Europe and the reason he gave. Now Herr Keller and Herr Lutolph are with Herr Bonarr who, as we believe, has promised them the same pay as an American and which in the beginning they cannot possibly earn even if they try. Our cheese making is now over but it could not have brought in anything to us this year, and in the future we now know how to take care of it. It would have taken too much time to milk so many cows.

2. It is almost unbelievable what an American worker can do. He splits 150 to 200 wooden fence rails a day. These are made 11 feet long and 3 to 4 inches thick. For this he first has to fell the trees in the forest. All deciduous trees that are seldom more than two lengths, and mostly only one length, are useful. For this he has an ax, an iron wedge, and in the forest some wooden mallets and blocks. At first it seemed nonsensical to make a zigzag fence as they always do in America. The 11 foot long pieces are laid on the ground in a zigzag pattern and eight or nine pieces are piled up above each other with the ends interlocked. In the corners posts are set opposite each other, thus forming a strong barrier at least six feet high. Such a fence

can be quickly built when the rails can be made and piled nearby. The larger the piece of land one clears, the smaller the length of fence needed to enclose an acre. For 40 acres square it requires around 5000 rails. The wage for making 100 rails is 62½ cents without meals and 50 cents with meals. At first we believed we could save much wood with a straight fence but the greater trouble of making it that way and the greater cost decided us to stick to the zigzag style.

3. What will you think now when I tell you that an American landowner with the help of a boy, very easily plants 30 to 40 acres of corn that has to be plowed four or five times to exterminate the weeds? Also he did not find it too hard to sow in addition, the same acreage in wheat. I heard that one of our neighbors planted 80 acres. How could a European believe this possible? But what do you say to a customary yearly wage of \$120, around 432 Swiss francs? In addition to this there would come board, room and washing. A good worker usually costs \$10 to \$14 a month. About this something must be done for money is probably worth still more here than in Europe. We could lend out plenty at 20% to 25%. Often 40% is paid. It cannot be called usury here for each one can profit from his labor or his money. Oh, how quickly a good industrious European worker could build up a substantial wealth if he learned the working methods of this country and saved his money. Within five or six years the certain fruit of his labor would be to become master of many

acres of land and many cattle. And here he is not called "laborer" but "fellow worker."

Unfortunately many of them give themselves over to strong drink and so imbibe their physical and moral death. Too much gain leads them to great extravagance, and with the uneducated the freedom and equality in this country generates scorn for earlier benefactors and a pride that elevates them above their own real worth. Too late they often behold the heights they have climbed on which they did not know how to establish themselves firmly.

We have made fairly good preparations for our future dwelling and hope to be able to move in before the end of the coming autumn. So far we have had no summer and still have no good idea about what one can do here in a year's time. Also several thousand logs must be disposed of in order to have new ground to plow with the oxen. The breaking of the soil usually comes in June and in the fall after heavy harrowing of the ground, it is sown to wheat that should yield the richest return. There is no talk of manures here. After 15 or 20 years the land produces the same fruits, except that the soil requires variation of the kinds of crops. On the contrary, grains do not yield so well twice in the same place, but in new or cleared land it yields much more than we know at home. The usual sowing per acre is 1¼ bushels.

The present plan, which however, like several earlier can change through circumstances, consists first in the building of a suitable dwelling.

After that we will have as much land as possible broken, from which the first year's crop of grain should pay all costs together with the purchase of the land. Later we erect several log or frame dwellings for tenants in order to be able to rent pieces of land, holding for own use no more than necessary for the feed for the live stock. Around 40 acres will be enough. It is easier to find tenants than laborers. Such a renter usually undertakes 30 or 40 acres and pays either a third part of all crops, or 10 bushels of corn per acre. The former is preferred because with an industrious man 15 to 18 bushels can be brought in.

One who knows what land costs as well as the fencing, and that the first breaking costs as much as \$2 to \$3 per acre, can easily see that the first yield of grain promises nearly the total cost, when an acre can produce 20 to 30 bushels, yes, often 35 or 40 bushels. The lowest price of grain for many years has been 50 cents per bushel.

It may well be that nearly anyone must succeed, no matter what he starts out to do, if only he carries on industriously and his effort is adapted to local conditions. There is no lack of market, only he must in advance recognize the inversion from the conditions in Europe. Here land is cheap, human help is dear. What the man does has value.

Here there is the best of pasture for many head of cattle. This may last for several decades and thousands of acres of land will not be taken up for a long time. It cannot be built up because of the lack of

wood to make the necessary fences. Finally, when a large population makes the mustard growth impossible and one can cultivate the open fields, then this entire State can be used. But as long as millions of acres of land in the west still wait for settlers there is nothing to worry about. Everything moves steadily ahead. Anyone can mow as much hay for winter feeding as he wants. Each one can let the cattle run; the rich grass fattens them, and there is little trouble about them except in the most severe winter when they cannot forage for themselves. The young calves that are enclosed in a place near the house, call their mothers home morning and evening and after part of the milk has been taken from them the balance is left to the calves, after which the cattle are again driven into the open. Fat cattle from these meadows can be sent to market with only a few weeks of corn feeding, for on the average they are much fatter than the best fat oxen. We know this from experience.

Thus the one who can start with a "stock" (which the people here call an assortment of cattle) raises them here in several years into a large herd. The cows calve without human help and always successfully in their second year, because the bull runs around in the open with them. This benefits the increase but the breed here is somewhat smaller than the big Swiss cows. Nevertheless they yield as much milk as ours with a rich, nourishing cream that leads us to believe that we will be able to make excellent cheese from it.

The best and easiest returns come

from the herd of young oxen that require no care except in the last weeks when they are fed with corn for the market. After four or five years such an animal brings in \$14 to \$20, and if one does not have the cows for breeding one can easily buy yearlings, according to size, for \$2 to \$3.

Just as simple is the breeding of pigs that feed themselves in the open on acorns, nuts, wild potatoes, etc. The female pigs produce young in the open, often in winter-time in the snow. In a few weeks corn feeding makes them fat enough for market, where according to quality, they bring \$2.50 to \$3 per hundred weight. Our neighbor this winter slaughtered over 120 hundred weight, mostly two year olds and weighing on the average 180 to 200 pounds.

However the first years of every settler are more or less beset with hardships and disappointments, and although many a real bounty is to be won here, still this land might not be especially promising to those who believe that out of their own old European circle, they can settle down into a similar one, where they can at once find a comfortable home, etc. before they can make it for themselves. Anyone who has enough money and can lay out some thousands of dollars for comforts—for such a one there is an exception. But anyone who comes here with a family and works hard must have to suffer some discomforts before he has gotten through the first years. Those who dream of amusements should positively stay at home. Later, genuine family contentments have a place, but faint courage avails nothing.

He who with all diligence cannot lay by enough in Europe to raise his family comfortably and has to worry about the future of his children, but still can save enough for travel expenses, necessary purchases and expenses for a year until he can begin to get ahead here, will not long to return to Europe after the first two or three years are surmounted.

The ease with which some families get along may really be the principal reason why there are so many of these Americans that we would call pauper families. They actually have enough to live a comfortable life, but at the end of the year are not advanced a single step financially. Thus they live, from hand to mouth, as we call it. They live in an easy-going abundance, without worry that their children might have the poorest of prospects.

Quickly and easily the American builds himself a shanty and if he is unable to buy land, then he settles on State land where he lives tax free. And then when he is dispossessed through the purchase of the land by others he moves on some distance from settlers. So live thousands in Illinois. However, no one should imagine that there is a complete absence of industrious and enterprising men here unless he is ignorant of the many great undertakings. Many create substantial wealth for themselves in a short time. But all business has its own peculiarities. Artisans and hand workers stay in the towns. This makes necessary a daily market for groceries, and the land owners flock to town to barter for their necessities. Thus originates

trade, the growth of a town, and the fortune of a community.

A place like St. Louis works in a circle of ten or fifteen leagues, not including important business relations with distant cities many hundred miles away.

It seems to me that the sure prosperity of an immigrant must depend mainly on the union of several families who stick together, especially in the first years. By this many unpleasant things will be avoided. For that reason I believe that for complete happiness we must have some friendly families, and then in addition, one thing more, Wine! Through the former we could introduce the old European pleasures and through the latter the meetings would be seasoned.

The rural Americans here abstain almost entirely from alcoholic drinks. Scorn strikes every drunkard and excesses are less frequent than in Europe. Societies exist here whose members make it their duty not only to take no spirituous drinks, or offer them to anyone else, but also to have nothing of the kind in the house. This promotes thriftiness. Also it is not customary to place liquor in front of the workers; instead, one drinks milk, tea, etc., and eats nourishing foods.

[JOSEPH SUPPIGER]

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NEW SWITZERLAND,
MARCH 21, 1832.

DEAR BROTHER:

Now our little affairs. The past winter has been hard, especially according to our ideas. In our lightly built dwellings with the poor chim-

neys we were often very cold. The oldest inhabitant could not remember such a cold winter. In the new houses to be built, having learned the most important precautions to take, we will now know how to make ourselves secure. However, we had many warm days in January such as you get only in April and May. But the nights mostly were cold. Sometimes we had heavy snow which helped us in carrying stone and wood. During the fast melting of the snow, however, there was so much water where there was no good outlet that one could hardly get through the deep mud without a horse. This is easily understood from the overlying top-soil several feet deep. There was rock in but a few places. In our woods we have several of the finest limestone ledges. The paths dried quickly as soon as the night frosts were over.

For some days now the weather has been indescribably beautiful. A multitude of birds, new to us, has come in. Flocks of cranes, geese and ducks that take their flight through our region seeking the northland have been common. On one cheerful day we had a pleasant sight. Extremely brightly adorned birds (their principal color was emerald green with orange yellow and red) swarmed over our shed. Sometimes they turned back as if they wished to display their splendor more completely. Only a few feet above the fruit trees was a place where the sunbeams reflected from the metallic gleams of their feathers were dazzling. I thought from their size, shape and beaks that they must be some kind of parrots.

If I am wrong it shows that one gets poor ideas in a display of bird beauties of this class. . . .

Turkeys showed themselves in flocks in only a few places. In the winter we caught a small animal that was like a pug dog. I think it the pine marten (*Didelphus Opossum*). The hare, really wild rabbit, is very abundant here and also some kinds of squirrels, among them the flying squirrel. Once also the skunk (*Viverra Putrius*) troubled us with its intolerable smell.

We have several workers making fence rails. . . . We think we can fence at least 80 acres this year and plant it. The fence is about the most important, as each section must be six to seven feet high to keep out the cattle. We expect to increase our clearing this much every year. Our live stock accepts our plans too eagerly.

Congress has not yet chosen the location of the great highway, however, it is already decided by the upper house, or Chamber of Deputies, that it will lead through our community. Also much is being said here of a railroad with steam engines, that is to go through our lands from St. Louis.

Also this little observation. The immigrants from Germany are beginning to come in through New Orleans. For instance the ship *Boston* loaded with immigrants, sailed from Havre to New Orleans on the same date we left home, April 16, 1831. Since then we have talked to some who made the trip on the *Boston*, who praised the route very highly, even at this dangerous time. They

came through to New Orleans in 58 days in beautiful weather, without storms. They paid in the hold 130 French francs and children under six came 3 to a person. Anyone can understand how much more comfortable and cheaper this trip must be, yet even in this Duden's advice must be considered.

THY LOVING BROTHER,
SOLOMON KOEPFLI.

. . .

NEW SWITZERLAND IN THE
MONTH OF SEPTEMBER 1832.

DEAREST PARENTS AND BROTHERS
AND SISTERS:

I would like to tell something in these pages of the profits of agriculture, as far as I can do so from my own experience and not merely from hearsay. In a short time we will have been on this land for a whole year and should be able to judge about some crops. . . .

The best way to lay aside some money in agriculture here is in grain growing and in cattle and hog breeding. About this I will now offer a little information so far as it comes within my experience, in order to enlighten you somewhat. I do not deny that I may err a little, but not very much. I will be as exact about it as I can now.

Let us now assume that some one here buys 160 acres of land from the State, and has the good fortune to make a good choice—good enough to be completely satisfied. If it were half meadow and half forest it would make a fairly good estate. Nothing can be gained here without forest as I have said before.

The 160 acres would cost	\$ 200.00
Half the land can be broken up at \$1.50 per acre which makes....	120.00
To fence this 80 acres takes 9000 rails; these cost for splitting and carrying to place \$1.25 per 100	112.50
To set up the fence may cost	10.00
Now we say that the farm is to be divided into 60 acres for wheat and the rest for corn and other crops, and if the land is broken in the spring at the right time, so that the grass roots are killed through lying fallow, and it can be harrowed twice in order to be able to plant the seed.	
60 acres harrowed twice	45.00
A man plows about 1 to 1½ acres a day and this may cost at the most	20.00
One usually sows 1 bushel of wheat to the acre; this may cost ½ dollar (now 75 cents), thus 60 bushels.....	30.00
The harvesting of the wheat costs for 60 acres about.....	15.00
The gathering and bringing in, I don't know exactly, may cost about half the cutting	7.50
To make this small farm complete about 3000 rails are needed to separate the buildings from the cattle, etc.....	37.50
Now add a small garden and house	200.00
I suggest the following arrangement for the rest of the land to be tilled. For corn 15 acres; this may cost for harrowing and planting next spring, including seed	
	16.00
The remaining 5 acres will be used for potatoes, flax, etc., and also some 100 fruit trees. These cost \$10 and the planting about \$2.50	12.50
Now the live stock is to be chosen in proper proportions but I will speak of that later, so I end this estimate with the addition of 1 wagon, 2 plows, 1 harrow and some other tools for general use..	150.00
<hr/>	
The total of all outlay for such a small estate adds up to.....	\$ 976.00

I do not think there are many errors in this estimate. I believe it could easily be followed. Misfortunes and inconveniences are excepted, which of course, are no more to be avoided in America than at home in Europe.

Let us now look at the returns that this small estate can with certainty yield, if God does not from now on forever change the productive power of this soil, and with

complete crop failure punish the Americans. Such new soil can produce the first four years, 30 to 45 bushels of grain. Now we figure on only 25 bushels. On 60 acres that would be 1500 bushels. For that we take the usual price of 50 cents as the seed is likewise reckoned, making \$750. At the very least 450 to 600 bushels of corn should be produced and the return might come to 750 bushels. Here it is very hard to deter-

mine the price as it can increase four to eight times. This year it went up to $37\frac{1}{2}$ and 50 cents, but can often be bought for $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. I think 6 bushels for \$1 might be the best average, and the profit on the money value can be estimated because in every case it is worth more when it is used to fatten cattle for this kind of fodder is of great value to the farmer. Thus the total yield comes to \$850 and could, under favorable conditions, be increased a half more—and so, year after year.

And still more about cattle breeding. In this department, however, I certainly am not yet in position to give an overall estimate because for that an experience of several years is necessary. A Kentuckian once said: "I understand nothing about the percentage of business people, but when I buy something for 50 cents and sell for \$1 then I know I make money." Every old farmer here says that cattle raising is most reliable and I believe this to be true because one can carry it along for some three months with no effort at all. I will make only some remarks and you can set up an estimate of it for yourselves.

In our region every one can get as many cattle as he wishes, for which he does not have to buy a handsbreadth of land—that is for pasture. I believe the pasture will suffer little or no shrinkage for 50 to 100 years because too many thousands of acres of prairie lie here which, for lack of forest is not planted, and therefore cannot be sold. Thus one lets his cattle run the whole summer, only here and there offering them some

salt when they come home. . . . Only in the hardest winter one opens the harvested corn fields to the cattle where they feed themselves several weeks from the leaves and stalks; when this is gone then hay must be fed. This is thrown out to the cattle in the open daily from wagons. No stock comes into the stalls except some horses and sickly calves.

Anyone can mow as many hundred acres of hay as he wants or needs for which he does not need to buy land, of which, as said before, there is plenty. Old farmers, however, plant 5 to 10 acres of tame hay principally for the horses. However this is really not necessary. The price of salt is much less than in Switzerland. The best salt costs \$1.75 per hundred-weight (about 55 batzen) and salt good enough for the stock can be bought for 30 to 40 batzen (85 cents to \$1.10). You know that a good cow with calf is worth \$10 and yearling steers can be bought for \$3. on the average. Anyone who wants to make butter and therefore keeps many cows, can use half of the milk for butter and use the other half for the calves. Butter steadily has a good market and is worth at the lowest not less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound. In St. Louis late in the year it rises to 25 cents and in winter 50 cents. It is just the same with other products.

If one holds on to his yearlings, then the steers are worth \$6 the second year and the young cows \$5 to \$6. The young cows usually calve late in the second year because the breeding bulls run with the cattle, and as it causes too much trouble

to delay the covering, the farmers do not concern themselves about it. In the third year steers, according to size, are worth \$9 to \$10, and in the fourth year \$12 to \$15, and in the fifth year \$18 to \$21. One does not have to worry about the sale as there is always a market, and anyone who can fatten cattle well will always have a demand for more. The above figures for cattle are for those grass fed from the prairies. Figure it out for yourselves.

Female hogs cost \$2.50 to \$4 each according to breed. These require no other care than occasional feeding in winter with corn and potatoes. They produce young two or three times a year and on the average, five to six pigs each time. Generally one lets the young run one and a half years, then catches them and fattens them six to eight weeks with corn, slaughters them, and gets \$3 per hundredweight from them. Such a pig usually weighs 200 pounds. Big farmers salt the meat in barrels, 200 pounds to the barrel, and usually sell it in the spring and towards summer time at \$10, often \$15 per barrel. The barrel costs 75 cents and the salt about 30 cents. As I do not know how much corn it takes to fatten a pig I must leave further reckoning to you. I know this much, that 10 acres of corn is enough for 100 to 150 pigs.

I cannot speak of sheep and horse raising. Every sheep repays its cost in the first year with its wool, and in addition there is the increase. Horses also require little care, with stalls only in winter. Good mares can be bought for \$50 to \$60 and with good

fortune the colt pays for the mother in the second year, but this takes more capital.

I now hire most of our workers by the month which is very expensive, but this is the only way workers can be had through the most critical times. How many good peasants work in Canton Luzern for less wages? If I could get two good and true men I would guarantee each one \$60 for the first year before they have learned customs and language, and later pay them still more when they have learned the work.

There are probably many who would like to come here. Should you know some one of whose honesty you are convinced, then send them to me with a letter. The trip through New Orleans should not cost so much. About 300 florins should be enough for a servant to get here, and if he has 200 florins more, then I would advise him to start with no effects other than a change of clothing, in order to make the trip quickly. He will soon earn enough here to be able to support himself. But do not bother with anyone who wants to be sent over free on credit. Anyone who cannot pay for the trip and voyage should stay in Europe. If he can afford the expense he is then his own master and as free as the Americans. But the contrary makes him mistrustful. If he is free and can do what he wants voluntarily, he has no one to reproach him, and he will be imposed upon by no one. What he earns is his own and if he were bound to serve some one for some time to pay the old debt he would believe he should earn more. This provokes him

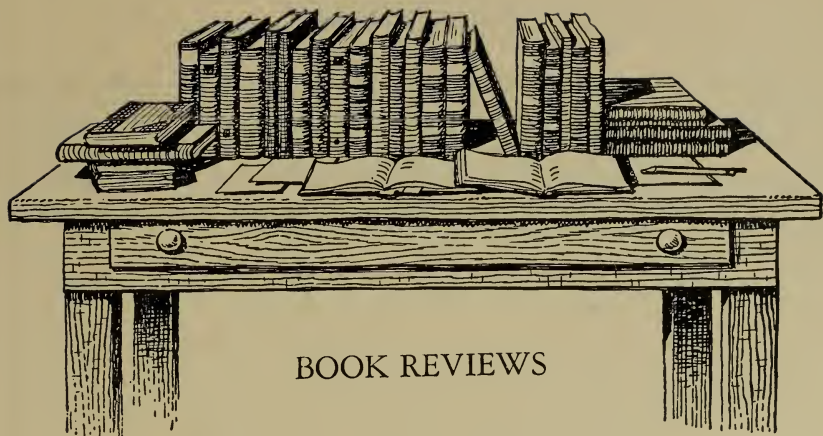
to disloyalty and might give him reason to leave the old master in the lurch. If he is free and sees his labor paid for, all suspicion is avoided and both master and servant are freed from doubt. This is the invariable rule of conduct—to know that one desires industrious people here, in the field from sunrise to sunset. Everyone soon becomes accustomed to the food here because it is better, more nourishing and sensible than in Europe. But one must renounce church festivals and dance days.

Here I will stop talking and let you arrange your own ideas as to whether farming here is worth while. You can carry on your calculations for the future years, as it will be very easy to figure the future costs from the statements I have given. Still some other remarks should not be omitted. A family must be able to bear living costs for one year. These costs depend on the number of persons and will depend also on the arrangements made. It can easily be estimated when one knows that the

grains cost 50 cents, potatoes 20 cents a bushel, meat 2 to 3½ cents a pound. Those who have cows whose maintenance really costs nothing can have enough milk and butter. Coffee and sugar cost the same as in Switzerland and in addition to these I really cannot see many other necessities for temporary subsistence. Hens for laying eggs cost very little. If a family plants a garden then they can save buying many things. Land for that is provided for. It costs nothing to feed the cattle in winter time, for \$5 or \$6 will pay for more than enough hay for ten head.

These somewhat incomplete statements, where gaps still appear, I will in the future, try to complete from experience. However, I have come this far in superficialities that I understand, that a land must not be bad to live in where a man does not have to think about manure on his fields, and stock raising is so little trouble. If only there [were] more people here so that more workers could be had, and perhaps cheaper.

[JOSEPH SUPPIGER]



BOOK REVIEWS

The Courtship of Mr. Lincoln. By Ruth Painter Randall. (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1957. Pp. 219. \$3.75.)

Ruth Painter Randall, author of *Mary Lincoln, Biography of a Marriage* (1953) and *Lincoln's Sons* (1956), has become an authority on the Lincolns' marital relations. This charming book, *The Courtship of Mr. Lincoln*, is a bright mosaic of the bits and pieces left over, no doubt, from her research on Mary Lincoln.

Perhaps Mrs. Randall is a trifle biased in favor of Mary and "Mr. Lincoln," but it is refreshing to read their side of the story told so well. This is not a book of fiction, but is based on facts. Rumor and tradition are dealt with and dismissed for what they are. Other romances of "Mr. Lincoln" are not neglected, so far as anything certain is known.

But this is indeed much more than just the courtship of Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd. It is a matrimonial period piece of love and courtship in the nineteenth century and Springfield, Illinois in particular. This little town of some twenty-five hundred people, capital of the growing state of Illinois, lives again. It had its "coterie," of which Lincoln was a member, composed of the town's more interesting individuals whose dances, sleigh rides and picnics were only one side of a more serious concern for politics and literature. Springfield had its fashionable side, too, and the Edwards house "on the hill" where Mary Todd lived was a favorite rendezvous.

The reader is charmed with the love letters of the faithful James Conkling and his beloved Mercy Levering and follows with interest the progress of their courtship and that of other members of the "coterie."

The Courtship of Mr. Lincoln is an excellent picture for just a few years of a little town in the Midwest and of its people, one of whom was destined

to become a great figure in world history. It is sympathetic to Mary Todd, who was to be his wife. One sentence of Mrs. Randall's probably appraises Mary better than all the volumes written about her: "The sum of her qualities did not add up to greatness, but she had a great love." Ruth Painter Randall can feel proud of this little book, and the reading public will thank her for it.

S. A. W.

The Civil War, Vol. I, *The American Iliad as Told by Those Who Lived It*. By Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman. Introduction by Bruce Catton. Pp. 719. Vol. II, *The Picture Chronicle of the Events, Leaders and Battlefields of the War*. By Ralph Newman and E. B. Long. Introduction by Allan Nevins. Pp. 240. (Grosset & Dunlap: New York, 1956. Two vols. boxed, \$10.)

There are justifiable and even compelling reasons for appropriately and diversely observing anniversaries of this nation's wars. As the centenary of the Civil War approaches it is evident that a voluminous body of publications will be one feature, and certainly the most permanent contribution, of this great national event. Publisher's lists already contain many books—monographs, monumental multi-volume studies and revisions and reissues of older but still important works long out of print—with every indication that more will follow. The publication of these two volumes is indicative of a fairly steady sale for Civil War literature and represents this publisher's anticipation of an increasing demand as the centennial approaches.

The American Iliad was first published in 1947. This reviewer has not patiently compared the earlier edition with the present one, but gathers by quickly leafing the two that the latest printed is not a new edition and, in fact, may have been reprinted from the plates of the 1947 issue. The editors have searched the contemporary and near contemporary accounts of the War written by newspapermen, women, servicemen of all ranks and grades, statesmen and politicians of both North and South and have verbally woven and physically arranged these writings into a narrative that describes with freshness, charm and an emotional impact, some aspect of most of the major campaigns of the conflict. From the multitude of sources the compilers have sampled it is possible to see the War as it appeared to the narrators on the home front, on the field of battle, at command headquarters, and in governmental circles.

There are twenty chapters in *The American Iliad*. Three are devoted to background and organization for war, fifteen relate to battles and army movements, including those that involved combined operations, and two

describe naval warfare. Forty-three maps illustrate the text. A bibliography listing in full the sources used in the twenty chapters is appended, followed by a useful index.

Those who maintain an inflexible attitude in quoting historical sources might cavil at the editors for correcting the ingrammaticisms of some of the contributors, for changing the pronouns from the third to first person and for tampering with the tense of the original but notification is given in the "Foreword" that this has been done. It will be obvious that the volume has been improved by this act of editorial license.

The Picture Chronicle might appropriately be called a handbook designed to illustrate, substantiate and make more meaningful the text of the first. The first section is a chronology of events. Important days or months of the period 1860-1865 are singled out and the history is related as it fits into the War and its background. Reproductions of war scenes, letters and broadsides are interspersed with this progressive account. One hundred short biographical notes and photographs of civil and military leaders are inserted as a ready reference. Following these is a select bibliography, designed to further the reading of the student or the acquisitions program of the collector of Civil War books. Although the "Foreword" lists the sources for the illustrative material used in this volume, this reviewer could not help but wish that the specific source for each war scene had been given.

These two volumes demonstrate what good results can obtain when a chemist, a bookseller and a newspaperman co-operate in an avocation long, avidly, and lovingly pursued. They have made no pretense at original and critical scholarship; but are nevertheless to be highly commended for their labor, patience and skill in assembling this body of material and presenting it in such readable form. Teachers of American history in both high school and college are advised to list this work as "required." I know of no other source book that will give a more vivid, dramatic and understandable grasp of many of the major events of the Civil War to the student of American history.

Indiana University Library

CECIL K. BYRD

Beloved. By Vina Delmar. (Harcourt, Brace and Company: New York, 1956. Pp. 382. \$3.95.)

When my wife first called my attention to Vina Delmar's historical novel about the life of Judah Benjamin I was intrigued. It was not easy for me to reconcile the idea of the author of popular light fiction such as *Bad Girl* and *Kept Woman* with writing requiring considerable historical research and a profound knowledge of life and times in the nineteenth century. The

ante-bellum and the Civil War period is admittedly the most controversial in our history. It has kept the revisionists busy during the decades since the fighting ended reinterpreting both the causes and the incidents. The problems involved are difficult even for expert historians to handle, let alone creators of pure fiction. However, in this instance I was agreeably surprised.

After reading *Beloved*, I arranged an interview with Mrs. Delmar for the purpose of discussing her volume. My personal interest in Judah Benjamin was threefold: as an active participant in the Civil War Round Table, as a former practicing attorney, and as a collector of Civil War manuscript material. During our conversation, I learned that Mrs. Delmar and her husband Eugene became interested in Benjamin during a visit to New Orleans some thirteen years ago. Later they visited Belle Chasse, the site of Benjamin's mansion and plantation. The Delmars' predilection toward Confederate Civil War history was a result of their enthusiastic admiration for Benjamin's fantastic career. To the reader who appreciates the generous sprinkling of historical minutiae which is woven into the fabric of the story, it is evident that the Delmars have assiduously studied Civil War history.

In a short preface, Mrs. Delmar states, "With the exception of nameless people, no fictional characters have been used here. Everyone who bears a name bore it in actual life. However, no claim is made that it is a thoroughly factual account. Though authenticity has been held in high esteem throughout, invention and imagination, too, have played their parts in developing the life story of 'the fascinating Benjamin'." The book's title is derived from the salutation used by Natalie Benjamin in letters to her husband.

Judah P. Benjamin was born of poor parents in the West Indies and, like Alexander Hamilton, his education was financed by a family friend who recognized great potentialities in the youth. He attended Yale but did not receive his degree because he was obliged to leave under somewhat clouded circumstances. This incident is handled adroitly by the author who shows that the experience helped forge Benjamin's character. Recognizing the frailties of mankind, he schooled himself in acquiring patience, tolerance and understanding.

Arriving in New Orleans he obtained employment in a notary's office where he came in contact with the most prominent lawyers in the city, and decided to make the practice of law his profession. To obtain necessary additional funds, Benjamin accepted students who required tutoring and who were recommended by his employer. He was engaged as a tutor to Natalie St. Martin, the beautiful daughter of a prominent Creole family, whose parents, cognizant of her polyandrous inclinations, encouraged him to marry her. The premarital relationship into which Natalie trapped Benjamin alerted him to her wayward tendencies and he awoke to the fact that it was to the

interest of her parents that the girl be married quickly. Their marital relationship could well be an interesting subject for Freudian study. Natalie was true to him in her own fashion, but being a nymphomaniac, there always had to be more than one man for her. Benjamin tells his young brother-in-law, "Suppose I told you that no one man has ever been enough for Natalie, that I know and accept the knowledge with the same bitter resignation that I would accord to a doctor's verdict that she was incurably ill." When she confessed to placing an aphrodisiac in his coffee, she simply explained her act as a method of bringing Benjamin to her more often.

Despite these failings, Benjamin loved her to the exclusion of all other women, even resisting the blandishments of the notorious and immortal actress, Rachel. Benjamin assuredly was one of the most understanding husbands in history. Natalie spent most of her married life in Paris where he provided her with a handsome house and an allowance adequate for her and their daughter, Ninette. Benjamin visited his wife periodically and during his last illness, it was to Natalie that he returned. It was indeed a strange love. In some respects it was similar to that of Dan Sickles who murdered his wife's lover, Barton Key, but who later forgave his wife and continued his relationship with her, although estranged. Between Natalie and Benjamin there was never an estrangement. The patient, understanding Benjamin philosophically resigned himself to a situation which the intemperate Sickles could not tolerate. Benjamin's marriage had estranged him from his family.

Benjamin was one of the most brilliant legal minds ever to practice in the United States and the British Empire. His skill as a trial lawyer won him many important cases with resulting handsome fees, even if measured by today's inflated standards. He refused to accept a Supreme Court appointment tendered him by President Pierce. He was recognized for his legal ability and integrity in financial circles. This gained him respect in the North with men like August Belmont. Everywhere his demeanor, charming manners, and fascinating voice won him social distinction. His final address when he left the Senate was touching:

And now we part to meet as Senators in one common council chamber of the nation no more forever. We desire, we beseech you to let this parting be in peace. You are told that the South is in rebellion without cause and that her citizens are traitors. Rebellion! The very word is a confession; avowal of tyranny, outrage and oppression. When, sirs, did millions of people rise in organized, deliberate rebellion against justice, truth and honor? Men do not war against benefactors. No people ever rose or ever will rise against rational and benevolent authority. Traitors! Treason! Ay, the people of the South imitate and glory in just treason as leaped in living flame from the lips of Patrick Henry just such treason as encircles with a sacred halo the undying name of Washington.

Benjamin heard the gossip and slander circulated that he expected to reap profits from the Confederacy, but he at no time made an effort to let the public know that he had sacrificed his possessions in order to make financial provision for the members of his family as well as to enable his wife to continue to live in Paris, the city of her choice. Likewise, he never called the attention of his assailants to the fact that August Belmont and his associates had suggested that New York would be a more suitable climate for his talents and abilities. His friend and associate, John Slidell, pointed out to him, that remaining with the Confederacy would not be profitable.

Benjamin took a realistic view of the situation and conditions North and South. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, he stated to the Confederate Congress:

I do not think Georgia more noble than New Jersey. I do not think South Carolina more honest than Maine and by God, I do not think the person of Jefferson Davis any more sacred than that of Abraham Lincoln. Then why am I here? I do not think slavery is essential to our well being. I doubt if the Confederacy can win a war. What am I doing here? The answer is that I am a Southerner.

More than half of the volume is set against the troubled background which begins with Benjamin's election to the United States Senate in 1852 and concludes with the end of the Civil War. Benjamin occupied successively the cabinet positions of Attorney General, Secretary of War and Secretary of State in the Confederate government. The critics both military and civilian from within the Confederacy as well as in the Union found a worthwhile whipping boy in Benjamin, the Jew. Only two members held their original positions in the Confederate Cabinet throughout the war, but Benjamin remained in his several capacities for the duration, the chief repository of President Davis' confidence.

For students of the period, Mrs. Delmar has woven an exciting and absorbing saga. For those readers who have little background, she presents an insight into the aristocratic Southern way of life. *Beloved* should stimulate a desire to become more familiar with the basic causes that started the conflict between North and South, the leading personalities of the period and their particular roles during the War.

As the intimate and trusted adviser of Jefferson Davis, Benjamin served as the focus for a larger canvas depicting the constant bickering, the jealousies and animosities that existed among the leaders of the lost cause. The characterization of Davis and the influence of his wife Varina may be disputed by students of the Confederacy. The portrayal of the cynical Slidell, who remained Judah's best friend, is enchantingly unfolded and is reminiscent of other likable rascals one meets while turning history's pages.

Among the historic incidents embroidering the narrative are the corrupt political tactics employed to win elections in New Orleans, railroad expansion, maneuvering by the Confederacy prior to shelling Fort Sumter, the Mason and Slidell affair, responsibility for the Roanoke Island disaster, disputes between cabinet members, Confederate financing of the war, the Sickles-Barton Key affair, plans for the Pennsylvania campaign, Sherman's operations in Georgia, the breakup of the Confederacy and Davis' flight from Richmond. The important part played by King Cotton in promoting alliances with foreign markets is analogous to modern power politics.

The galaxy of historical characters paraded before the reader includes in addition to those already noted, Presidents Polk, Taylor, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln and Johnson; Generals Grant, Frémont, Jackson, Lee, Johnston and Beauregard; Sumner, Seward, the Chestnuts, Justice Campbell and practically all the Confederate cabinet members.

After Appomattox, Benjamin joined Davis in his flight southward. When Davis attempted to convince Benjamin that the South could successfully resist and entertained wild thoughts of going to Texas to resume the war, Benjamin departed from Davis. He continued on alone to Florida and, after several hair-raising adventures at sea, finally made his way to England.

Whereas the defeat of the Confederacy ended the careers of Davis and other Confederate leaders, it merely started a new phase for Benjamin—in European circles, closer to Natalie. In his fifties, he resumed legal studies in London, where he was quickly admitted to the English bar. Once more his personality and ability enabled Benjamin to acquire a great reputation, his volume on sales was a standard text for many years and he was made Queen's Counsel. As a testimonial to his legal and juristic achievements, upon his retirement two hundred of the most eminent British barristers tendered Benjamin a famous banquet at the Inner Temple.

In her acknowledgments Vina Delmar refers to numerous standard works, leaning heavily toward those dealing with the Confederacy. One wonders to what extent Clifford Dowdey's volumes in particular might have influenced her in arriving at some of her conclusions.

However debatable some of the characterizations may be the book shows ample evidence of painstaking research. Unlike authors writing straight biography the novelist, even when dealing with historic characters, must be permitted the freedom to present them as seen from the available evidence. With this prerogative Mrs. Delmar has produced live and understandable people. The use of such a multitude of personalities without seriously misrepresenting historical facts adds considerably to the usefulness of this absorbing historical novel.

Los Angeles, California

JUSTIN G. TURNER

The Amish Year. By Charles S. Rice and Rollin C. Steinmetz. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, N.J., 1956. Pp. 224, \$5.00.)

Two men who have lived among the Amish people of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, most of their lives have combined talents to present an intimate picture of this rural religious group. Charles S. Rice tells his part of the story in a series of striking photographs, which Rollin C. Steinmetz supplements with a text.

The authors have chosen an unusual but not always plausible technique for the format of their book. In twelve chapters—one for each month of the year—the reader is conducted on visits to twelve more or less typical activities of the Amish. Beginning with a farm sale in January, the reader shares vicariously the experiences of Amish people for the following eleven months. He learns about shopping in department stores, farming activities in March, an Amish funeral, the building of buggies, a barn-raising, a religious service, tobacco harvest, an Amish rodeo, barn dancing, a wedding and the Amish schools.

Except for the chapters dealing with a tobacco harvest and an Amish rodeo, this book might well have been written about the almost 2,000 Amish people who live in Douglas and Moultrie counties surrounding Arthur in east central Illinois, or those living in much smaller settlements in north-western Illinois. Indeed, to paraphrase a familiar footnote, "not even the names have been changed." The Yoders and Kings are just as prominent in Pennsylvania, it would seem, as in the Illinois settlements.

The Amish Year touches only lightly on the familiar customs which most of us associate with the Amish—their "quaint," "simple" ways prohibiting the use of automobiles in favor of horse and buggy, the bans against central heating plants, telephones, the taking of pictures, or permitting the education of their children beyond the eighth grade. The authors minimize rumors about the Amish and their penchants for bundling and the use of magic signs to drive away evil spirits. But the "Americans" living among the Amish in the East apparently enjoy exaggerating the facts as much as do those in Illinois.

The chapters on an Amish wedding and the barn-raising are particularly effective. An Amish wedding is a long and gay ceremony, beginning early in the day and ending late at night with dancing. In between are lavish meals, many games and certain small customs unique among the Amish.

A barn-raising symbolizes the best traits of the Amish—their co-operative spirit and good-natured industriousness. When an Amish family needs a new house or farm building various members of the group are delegated to buy materials. On a prearranged day, a score or more men will meet at

the site to erect the building. Each has an assigned duty which he has been taught since early childhood. While the building goes up, the women prepare food for the workmen. The authors capture the good will of the workers and the special flavor of their wit and innocent practical joking. Typical is the prank of nailing a co-worker's claw hammer to the floor.

Rice's 119 pictures are superb, both in content and composition. The perfectly natural actions and attitudes of the people as seen through the camera are far more expressive than words. Steinmetz is almost too economical with his text. For example, scarcely anything is said about the events which fostered the founding of the Amish in 1692, or about their coming to the United States. Only in passing does the author mention the stubborn courage of the people in defending their principles. Nothing is discussed about their pacifism and their dedication to personal integrity. These traits, rather than their strange customs, odd clothing, and resistance to new ways of life probably set the Amish apart. Another defect is the absence of an index.

Otherwise *The Amish Year* is a bright chapter in the story of an unusually interesting group of people.

Mattoon

ALEXANDER SUMMERS

Westernized Yankee: The Story of Cyrus Woodman. By Larry Gara. (The State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1956. Pp. 254. \$4.50.)

This seventh volume in the *Makers of Wisconsin History: Biography Series* is a worthy companion to the others. The author, a member of the history faculty at Eureka College, has hacked a path through the jungle of land investment operations on the frontier and presented the outline of Cyrus Woodman's career with amazing clarity.

Buying and selling land formed the major portion of Woodman's activity in Wisconsin from 1840 to 1862. Although a Bowdoin College chum of John A. Andrew, Civil War governor of Massachusetts, and a partner of Cadwallader C. Washburn, Union general, Woodman sought neither political nor military eminence. He turned down an unsolicited election to the Wisconsin legislature because of business commitments; and, though an enthusiastic supporter of the war, a trip to the Peninsula to arrange for the transmittal of soldiers' pay to their families convinced him more than ever that he could do more effective work at home than on the battlefield. Gara described Woodman's first Western activity—the promotion of Winslow, Illinois—in the Summer, 1951 issue of this *Journal* ("Yankee Land Agent in Illinois," pp. 120-41), which forms the basis for the treatment of this subject in the book.

One wishes that Illinois had had a Cyrus Woodman to collect old territorial and early state newspapers—and a State Historical Society from the time of admission to preserve them—as did Wisconsin. He was also a good historian in his belief that “every old paper with a name and a date establishes certain facts” and should therefore be preserved. He published the history of his home town (Buxton, Maine) and a genealogy of his family.

The format of the book comes up to the Historical Society’s usual high standards, though one would think that the Society, of all publishers, would recognize the disadvantages of having the notes in the back of the book. The notes themselves are informative, the bibliographical “Note on the Sources” adequate, and the index unusually complete. It will prove interesting reading for any historically minded person, not only of Wisconsin, but of the entire Midwest.

J. N. A.

A History of Minnesota. By William Watts Folwell. (The Minnesota Historical Society: St. Paul, 1956. Vol. I. Pp. 533. \$6.50.)

This is a re-issue of a book that was published in 1921 and has long been out of print. It is the first volume of Folwell’s four-volume work which was issued between then and 1930—and now a limited number of the complete set is again available. In the new book the text has been reproduced by a photographic process, eight of the twelve pictures in the original have been used and about twenty have been added, and the six maps have been redrawn for simplification and legibility. This volume carries the Minnesota story from the time of the French explorations to the constitutional convention of 1857 that led to statehood (May 11, 1858). Although much new material has been made available since it was first published it is still considered the best single history of the period.

H. F. R.

CENTENNIAL AND COMMEMORATIVE PUBLICATIONS

Some seventeen Illinois towns and cities celebrated their centennials in 1956. Most of these commemorated the event with special publications, for which the Historical Library is indebted to the various committees and individuals who sent them. Each of the booklets mentioned below is approximately 8½ by 11 inches in size:

BREESE (June 29-July 1).: More than three-fourths of the 82-page *Breese Centennial Souvenir Program and History* is devoted to the history of the town, of its civic and fraternal organizations and its business houses. The text is illustrated with about sixty pictures.

- CATLIN (July 20-21): *Catlin Centennial* is a 30-page pamphlet, with the "History of Catlin" taking eleven pages, followed by a page each for the centennial program, the grade school, the Methodist Church, the Church of Christ, the high school, the bank, the volunteer fire department, the Lions Club, and five civic organizations sharing a page. The remainder is devoted to advertising. Ten photographs illustrate the text.
- DEKALB (June 12-16): The 72-page centennial booklet *Progress Unlimited* contains some thirty well-written, informative pages on the history of the community and sixteen pages of program, with the remainder being devoted to advertising. The booklet has two dozen photographs.
- DURAND (July 12-15): The 52-page *Souvenir Program and Historical Booklet* has nine pages of history and seven of photographs. The July 5 and 12 issues of the *Durand Gazette* also contain historical photographs and text.
- GRIDLEY (July 18-22): The 168 pages of the *Gridley Centennial Book* contain more than a hundred photographs, most of them taken around 1900, and four pages of sketches of local scenes made at about the same time. All but a few of the people in the photographs are identified. There is a map showing the area damaged by the fire of May 3, 1901, and a present-day map of the village. About a dozen pages are devoted to a history of the community and eight pages to the churches.
- HARVARD (June 6-9): The 64-page centennial edition of the *Harvard Herald* published on May 31 contains practically as much historical material and photographs as would a 500-page book. The first section is printed on superior quality paper and serves as a cover for the remaining centennial sections—General, Clubs and Organizations, Churches, Industry and Business, Rural, Schools and the City, and Features. The articles are well written, well organized and well illustrated.
- ILLIOPOLIS (August 23-25): The *Centennial History of Illiopolis* contains thirty-eight pages of history, with about forty pictures, many taken about 1900. The rest of the 66-page booklet is devoted to advertising.
- NEOGA (August 14-15): *The Story of Neoga* is a 70-page booklet with about eighty pictures illustrating the fifty-six pages of historical text. The fourteen pages of advertising are at the back of the booklet.
- NOKOMIS (July 26-28): The 120 pages of the *Centennial History of Nokomis, Illinois*, contain ten pages of the Community's History, the equivalent of eight of "historical notes"; sixteen of family histories; and twenty-four of business and industry, which replace the usual advertisements. More than fifty turn-of-the-century photographs are distributed

through the book. Historical material also was published in the July 26 and August 2 issues of the *Free Press-Progress*.

PANA (July 1-4): The 56-page Pana centennial souvenir booklet is bound in loose-leaf form. T. J. Phillips did most of the research and writing for the thirty-six pages of historical text. It is illustrated by fourteen photographs and has a limited index.

PEOTONE (August 2-5): Eighteen pages of history, including a dozen pictures from the past, form part of the 92-page *Peotone on Parade*. Nearly as many pages, with over thirty pictures, are devoted to present-day civic and fraternal organizations. The centennial program occupies four pages and the remainder is advertising.

VIOLA (July 2-4): Text and photographs about the Viola centennial occupy all of Section Four of the *Aledo Times-Record* of June 27, and other articles are scattered through the other three sections of the paper.

WINDSOR (August 26-September 1): *The Story of Windsor*, a 48-page souvenir program, has twelve pages of history—printed in small type—and six pages on civic and fraternal groups. There are two dozen pictures, most of them from the past. The *Windsor Gazette* of July 26 carries "The History of Windsor" by Ella Mae Kercheval Chilovich, covering more than four full columns. This issue and the next also contain other historical articles.

Towns and cities which celebrated centennials in 1956, from which the Historical Library has received no publications, are: Broadwell (December 9); Buckley (June 21-23); Colchester (early September); and Forest Park (June 17-24). If any readers of this *Journal* are able to send us publications from these communities, they will be appreciated.

The Library has recently received the Hundredth Anniversary Issue of the *Chicago Daily Law Bulletin*, dated October 27, 1954. Its sixteen large pages are crammed with information about the history of the publication and of the legal profession in Chicago for the past century.

The *Piatt County Journal* [Monticello] issued—on May 17, 1956—a special 56-page edition marking the centennial of the publication. This contains much valuable material on Monticello and Piatt County.

The *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], founded November 10, 1831, issued special sections on various aspects of the history of Springfield in its Sunday editions during October (7, 14, 21 and 28). In addition to the 108 pages in the six special 125th anniversary sections, various shorter historical articles and pictures are scattered through the rest of the issues.



ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Jack L. Black, manager of the local Illinois Bell Telephone office, spoke to the Alton Area Historical Society on "Alton's Pioneer Telephone Service" at its meeting on November 11 in Haskell House.

New officers of the Society, elected at this meeting are: John Stobbs, president; Maitland Timmermeier, vice-president; Mrs. John Stobbs, secretary; and Lester K. Meyer, treasurer.

The Bond County Historical Society on October 19 elected John F. Nowlan honorary president for life; Evelyne McCracken, president; Mrs. C. J. Dawdy and Charles I. Watson, vice-presidents; Mrs. Frank V. Davis, secretary; C. D. Hoiles, treasurer; Watson, Deane McAlister, Russel Hunter and Harry Bilyeu, directors for three years. Antiques and heirlooms owned by the members were on display.

The Boone County Historical Society met at the courthouse in Belvidere on November 15 and discussed possibilities for a new home for the Society's collections. President Fred Lewis appointed Sidney Nash and Perry Cratty co-chairmen of a committee in charge of this project. Four members of the junior historical society now being formed attended the meeting. The Society accepted the donation of the whistle of the National Sewing Machine Company plant.

The Cairo Historical Association held its annual Holiday House at Magnolia Manor on November 22-25. Committee chairmen were: Mesdames James S. Johnson, Jr., Virginia Cade Luby, Emmett J. Gillespie, Herbert H.

Ewing, A. B. Thomas, H. B. Williams, Herbert C. Bourland, Harry Emerson, James M. Looney, Maribea Tieman, Edward Detjen, Carson W. Rodgers, Charles A. Koehler, and Miss Kathryn Greaney.

Richard S. Hagen, historical consultant of the Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials, gave an illustrated lecture on historical restorations throughout the state at the Du Page County Historical Society's "Harvest Dinner" on November 16 at the Woodridge Country Club near Lisle. Copies of the Society's 1956 art portfolio were distributed to the members.

The newly organized Historical Society of the Fort Hill Country met at the Diamond Lake church on October 15. Gordon Ray talked on the early history of the ninety-eight-year-old church, and his brother, Lloyd C. Ray, discussed Indians of the Lake County area and exhibited numerous artifacts. The Society plans to emphasize the history of the area's churches.

Pending the completion of organization and the election of permanent officers, John Bane, Mrs. William Hecketsweiler, Richard F. Johnson, the Rev. Delbert Schrag and John Shepherd are serving as a steering committee to direct the Society's affairs.

Paul Fellingner showed pictures of his trip to Europe last summer at the October 15 meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society.

The Kankakee County Historical Society on November 11 paid tribute to its past president Ralph E. Francis, following his election to the presidency of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1956-1957. Burrell Small gave an illustrated talk on his recent tour of South America. Mrs. Thomas Baird, president of the Society, presided.

Officers of the La Salle County Historical Society, re-elected on October 14, are: Dorothy Bieneman, president; John Graham, vice-president; Ruth Karger, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Fred W. Sauer, recording secretary; and John W. Dubbs, treasurer. Mrs. Edward Carus, Mrs. Walter Chapman, Ray C. Hawley, Horace Hickok and C. C. Tisler were elected directors.

Keith Clark of Ottawa sang ballads recently written by him on the Ottawa-Peoria trail, the early Peru fire department and early Mendota laws. Biographical sketches, of Maud Powell, Herbert Spencer Jennings and John Finley were read, and the group toured Miss Powell's birthplace and listened to recordings made by her.

The Madison County Historical Society met at Marine on October 21. The group was welcomed by Mayor Walton H. Faires, and papers on the

early history of the town were read by Esther Brandes and Mrs. Alberta Mebold. Loyal Palmer reported the formation in Wood River of the Lewis and Clark Society, which is to be devoted to the study of that expedition.

A memorial address in honor of the late Dr. Howard W. Trovillion was given by Irving Dilliard, past president of both the Madison County and Illinois State Historical societies. A. Edson Smith, principal of East Alton-Wood River Community High School, was elected first vice-president, and Robert Lange of Edwardsville director, to fill vacancies created by Dr. Trovillion's death. Burton C. Bernard of Granite City and Les E. Prehn of Bethalto were elected directors to replace E. W. Ellis and Harvey E. Dorsey. Other officers, all re-elected, are: Donald F. Lewis, president; Mary Harnsberger, second vice-president; Jessie Springer, secretary; Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, treasurer; Lewis and Dilliard, directors.

Historical exhibits of early Marine, and a collection of campaign buttons presented by Udell Harris of St. Louis, were on display for the members.

The Marshall County Historical Society met on October 22 at Toluca. Ray Litchfield presented facts about land grants to farms in the area.

Harry L. Spooner, charter member and past president of the Peoria Historical Society, addressed the Society's first meeting of the new season on October 15. His subject was "Early Railroad Transportation in Peoria." The Society, which has one hundred members, meets monthly in the Lincoln Room of the Bradley University library.

The Randolph County Historical Society began its 1956-1957 season with a business meeting and social hour at the Peace Lutheran Church in Steeleville, on September 21. Vice-President E. R. Schweizer presided.

Melvin L. Fowler, curator of anthropology of the Illinois State Museum, spoke on the Modoc excavations at the Society's meeting in Sparta on October 19.

Louis Aaron of Harrisburg was guest speaker at the Society's November 16 meeting in Chester.

Claire V. Golden of Port Byron was the principal speaker at the Rock Island County Historical Society meeting on November 13. He described his trip through Russia last summer and showed color pictures which he took while there. Mrs. Arthur Jahn spoke on the early days of Edgington, where the meeting was held. Mrs. James Casey sang, accompanied by Dail Harris.

President Karl Gartner, Sr., presided at the St. Charles Historical Society's meeting on September 25. Alice Davis reported that a number of school pupils are at work on a diorama to be installed in the Society's museum. The needs of the museum and plans for its future were discussed.

Senator Glen O. Jones addressed the Saline County Historical Society on October 2 on "Promotion of Historic and Scenic Beauties of Southern Illinois." Judge D. F. Rumsey reported on progress toward a museum for the Society. Phillip Kane sang two songs, accompanied by Michal Foster.

The feature of the Society's November 6 meeting was a report by Louis Aaron and Mrs. Paul Hatfield on the Chicago meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society. Susan and James Bond, children of Mr. and Mrs. James Bond of Galatia, presented musical numbers. Plans for the museum were further discussed and old-time phonographs were on display.

Eli G. Lentz, professor emeritus of history at Southern Illinois University, was elected president of the Southern Illinois Historical Society at its meeting on October 19 at Carbondale. Mrs. L. O. Trigg, Eldorado, was elected vice-president; Dr. John Clifford, Carbondale, secretary-treasurer; E. M. Stotlar, Marion, archivist; Charles C. Feirich, Metropolis, Arch Voight, Du Quoin, and J. M. Pomeroy, Carmi, directors.

The meeting began with a public reception honoring geographer Charles C. Colby of Chicago, whose *A Pilot Study of Southern Illinois* was issued by the Southern Illinois University Press the following day. After a conducted tour of the University's new library building, Dr. Clifford, social studies librarian, spoke on "Local Historical Collections at Southern Illinois University," emphasizing the use of microfilm in preserving papers and documents. Music was presented by baritone William K. Taylor and pianist Robert E. Mueller of the University faculty.

The Society resolved to support a move for the restoration of Fort Defiance at Cairo, and also voted to loan its collection of the papers of General Michael K. Lawler to the University library.

Cary Clive Burford of Urbana addressed the Stephenson County Historical Society on October 26 on "The Historical American Indian in Illinois." A new exhibit of Indian relics is on display at the Society's museum in Freeport.

A number of unidentified pictures in the possession of the Society have been displayed in the office of Philip L. Keister, secretary of the Society and past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, with prizes being offered for correct identifications. Ruth A. Winn is president of the Society.

The Wayne County Historical Society met on November 30 in the Mount Erie High School gymnasium.

Snyder E. Herrin was elected president of the Williamson County Historical Society at its meeting on October 7. Other officers elected are: H. L. Motsinger, Ruth Grant and Mrs. Logan Colp, vice-presidents; Mrs. Pearl Roberts, secretary; Mrs. William Burkhart, treasurer; Mrs. Nannie G. Parks, archivist; and Mrs. Paul Colp, parliamentarian.

The speaker was O. K. McWilliams of Marion, who displayed about two thousand Indian artifacts from his collection, gathered from sixteen states and some foreign countries.

THE LAUNCHING OF *ILLINOIS HISTORY*

Presentation of the first copy of the January, 1957 issue of *Illinois History* to Governor William G. Stratton by State Historian Clyde C. Walton marked the official launching of this new publication. The new magazine replaces the *Illinois Junior Historian* and is being published for the Illinois State Historical Society by the Southern Illinois University Press at Carbondale. Like its predecessor, *Illinois History* seeks to interest junior and senior high school students in the history of their state. In addition to the change in name certain basic changes have been made in editorial policy and design that differentiate *Illinois History* from the *Illinois Junior Historian*.

In explaining these changes Phyllis E. Underwood, editor of the magazine and director of the Illinois Junior Historian program, said: "Most striking, to those familiar with the old magazine is the appearance of *Illinois History*. Recognizing that young people tend to shy away from a scholarly but colorless publication, *Illinois History* has been designed to add eye-appeal to solid historical material. In addition to a liberal use of photographs and other illustrations from the files of the Illinois State Historical Library, original maps and drawings by a staff artist of the Illinois State Museum adorn the magazine's pages.

"In the matter of editorial policy," the director continued, "two fundamental changes are the decisions to devote each issue to a single topic and to invite adults, specialists in their particular fields of study, to contribute brief articles to *Illinois History*. These adult authors will supplement but will not replace the work of the junior writers. Behind these decisions rests the purpose of the Junior Historian movement: to arouse an interest on the part of teen-agers in the history of Illinois, to train them in proper methods of historical research, and to provide them with a vehicle for their own expression. The decision to devote each issue to a single theme was based



Photo by Bill Calvin, State Photographer

GOVERNOR RECEIVES FIRST COPY OF *Illinois History*

State Historian Clyde C. Walton, left, is shown presenting the first copy of the new *Illinois History* magazine to Governor William G. Stratton in the latter's office.

upon the theory that a historical study gains in value and pleasure as it is given depth and detail. It was felt that skipping from one unrelated subject to another as was done in the *Junior Historian* had a tendency to confuse the student.

"The plan of having each issue devoted to a single topic had been tried with the *Junior Historian* and had been found impractical because it published only student articles and there were never enough of these on one subject suitable for publication available at one time. Since the use of adult articles was thus inevitable it was agreed that they would add to the value of the

magazine from a scholarly point of view and would also serve as tangible illustrations of the kind of work the young historians wish eventually to produce.

"Another goal of *Illinois History* is to provide teachers with an interesting, effective classroom aid. As it is now designed it can be used as the starting point for a unit of study, as a supplement to other textual materials, or as a unit entire in itself. Additional educational features of the magazine include a monthly quiz and a bibliography. Eventually we expect to add a column reporting on the activities of Junior Historian clubs and classes throughout the state.

"This, in brief, is the role that *Illinois History* will have in the Junior Historian program. The initial response to the new magazine from newspaper editors, teachers and librarians has been highly enthusiastic. This gives rise to the feeling that the Junior Historian program will make substantial strides this year toward the fulfillment of its goal: to help students know and enjoy the history of Illinois."

ELIJAH M. HAINES GRAVE MARKED

The residents of Hainesville—Lake County's oldest and smallest incorporated village—honored the town's founder, Elijah Middlebrook Haines, on October 21 by dedicating a red marble marker at his previously unmarked grave in Oakwood Cemetery, Waukegan. Trustee John M. Finch, Sr., chairman of the Elijah M. Haines Memorial Committee, presided, and Village Attorney Richard R. Bairstow summarized Haines' career. Other Hainesville officials and Mayor Robert E. Coulson of Waukegan also participated.

The inscription reads: "Elijah M. Haines / 1822-1889 / Founder of Hainesville / Erected by Hainesville / 1956."

Born in Oneida County, New York, Haines came to Lake County in 1833. He was self-educated and was admitted to the bar in 1851. Four years later he prepared a compilation of Illinois laws relating to township organization, which was printed by authority of the General Assembly and distributed throughout the state. He also made similar compilations for Michigan, Missouri, Wisconsin and Minnesota. His *Treatise on the Powers and Duties of Justices of the Peace in Illinois*, also dating from 1855, is still a standard work on the subject.

Haines was one of the organizers of the Republican Party in Illinois and a friend of Lincoln. He served as a Republican in the Twenty-first, Twenty-second and Twenty-third General Assemblies (1859-1865). As a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1869-1870 he was instrumental in the adoption of minority representation and other antimonopoly features of

Illinois' present constitution. He was re-elected to the House as an independent in 1870, 1874, 1882, 1884 and 1888, and died during his last term. At the sessions of 1875 and 1885 he served as Speaker.

RURAL YOUTH GROUP HONORS FOUNDERS

The Illinois Rural Youth organization celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary this fall at its annual meeting in Chicago. In ceremonies on November 13 at the Sherman Hotel scrolls were presented to George H. Iftner of Springfield, assistant director of the Illinois Department of Agriculture, and Father George Nell of Teutopolis for their parts in founding the organization. Iftner was farm advisor of Effingham County twenty-five years ago. Father Nell, incidentally, has been a member of the Illinois State Historical Society since 1919.

DU PAGE HISTORICAL PORTFOLIO

The Du Page County Historical Society has published the first portfolio in what it hopes "will be a periodical portrayal of the high spots" of the county's history. The Society's President H. A. Berens writes an introduction for the first page and each of the seven other eleven-by-fourteen-inch pages is devoted to a county landmark. H. Gilbert Foote supplied the pen-and-ink drawings each of which is half a page in size and the texts were written by various members of the Society. The sites honored in this first issue are: the Warren L. Wheaton home, Wheaton; Mansion House, Glen Ellyn; Castle Inn, Hinsdale; Gary's Mill, West Chicago; Byrd's Nest Chapel, Elmhurst; Fort Payne, Naperville; and Big Woods Congregational Church, Eola Road.

CORRECTION: Excavations at the Modoc Rock Shelter in Randolph County are being conducted by the Illinois State Museum and not by the University of Illinois department of archaeology as was stated in the *Autumn, 1956 Journal*, p. 348.

